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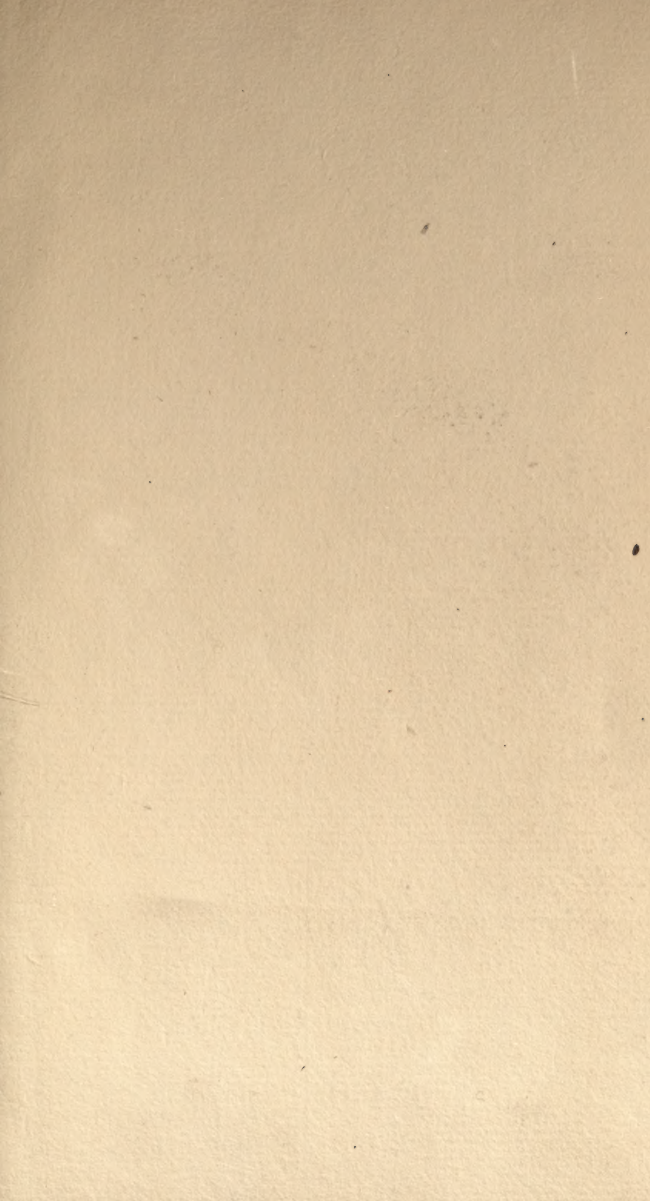
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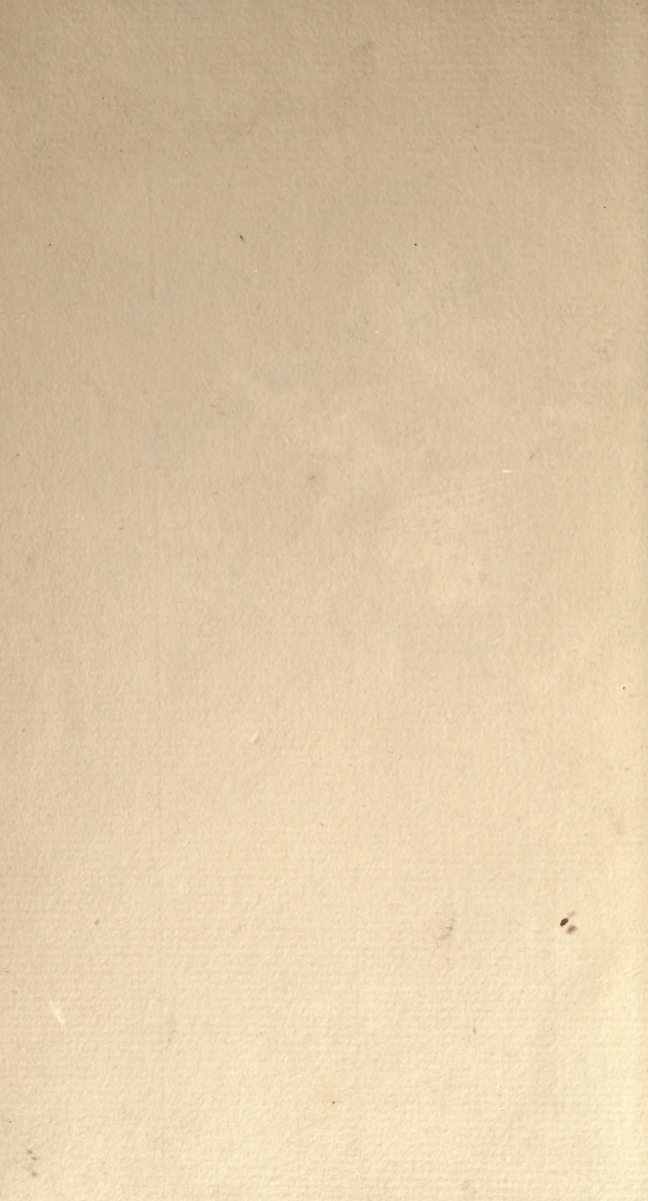
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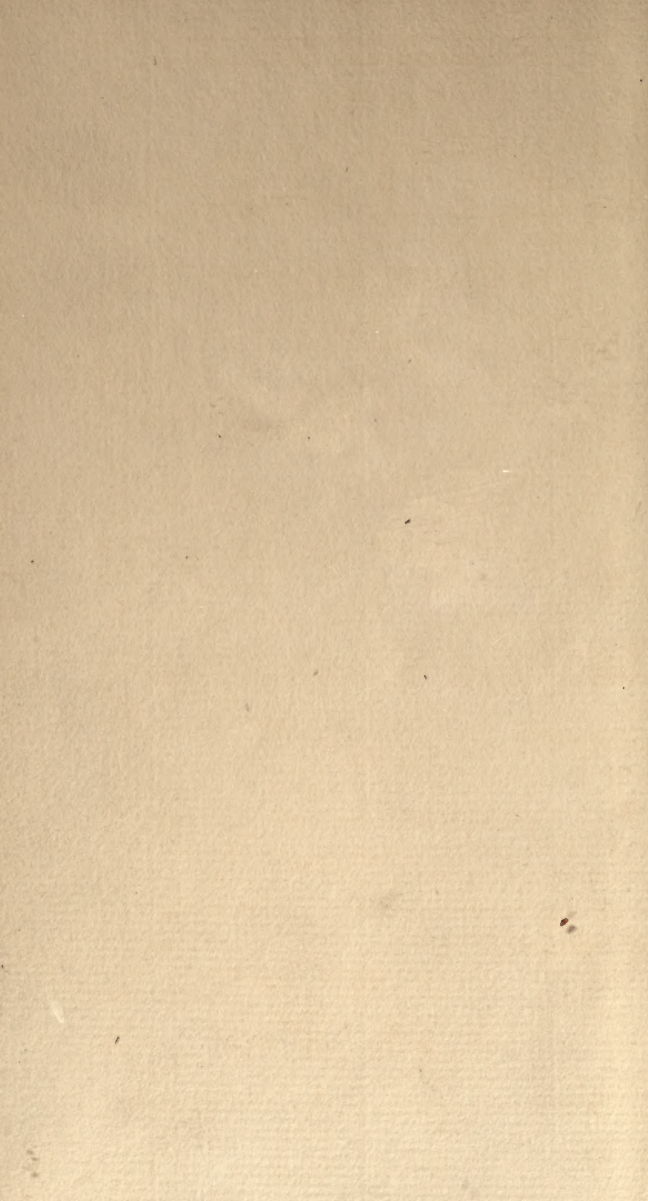














W  
FOUR  
LETTERS

On feveral Subjects,

TO

Persons of Quality.

The Fourth being an

ANSWER

TO THE

Lord Bishop of LINCOLN's

BOOK, Entituled, *POPERY*, &c.

By *Peter Walsh*, of *St. Francis's* Order,  
Professor of DIVINITY.

*If thou separate the pretious from the vile,  
thou shalt be as my Mouth. Hier. 15. 19.*

Printed Anno 1686.

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thou shalt be as my servant. Hier. 15. 19.

Printed Anno 1688.



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THE  
Epistle Dedicatory  
TO THE  
DUKE of ORMOND.

*My Lord,*

**I**T is now about three and twenty years, since I presumed to appear in Print under the Patronage of your Grace. And I conceive gratitude obliges me to this other Address now: because it is the onely return I can make to the goodness with which you have always treated me, and in this declining period of my age, like enough to be my last. I take it for a debt I ow to your extraordinary Favours, never intermitted since I had first the honour to see you in the Castle of *Kilkenny* in the year 1648; to which I must confess my obligations so much the greater, by how much I am sensible, your Grace could find nothing in me to deserve them, save the value you were pleas'd to put on my honest endeavours

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

endeavours to serve, as I was able, in my low station, those Royal Masters, whom your Grace has all your Life served so faithfully, and for a great part of it so eminently, in governing the Kingdom of *Ireland*. They were indeed pure overflows of Loyalty to them, which through all vicissitudes of fortune, and tryals of constancy, ran always full in your self, and swell'd out in kindness to me. For you regarded *me* onely because you loved *them*. Nevertheless, your goodness has been the great comfort of my life, even amidst my greatest afflictions: and I could not balk an opportunity of shewing my sense and gratitude before I go to my grave. Besides which general Motive, I considered that this little Book has a particular relation to your Grace. You are not onely several times named, but often concern'd in diverse material passages in the Three First Letters. And of the Last, and most considerable both for matter and bulk, (for it takes up four parts in five of the Whole) I hold you to be as much better qualified for a Judg, then any Subject in His Majesty's

His Majesty's

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

His Dominions, as experience is beyond bare speculation. You have had a long experimental knowledg of the Two numerous contending parties of Roman-Catholicks in *Ireland*, while you were several times Lord Lieutenant there from the year 1642, to 1650; and great opportunities in the following Ten years of your Voluntary Exile, to make observations on Catholick Kingdoms, and their Religion abroad. And therefore must needs be able to determin the most knowingly and impartially of any body the Controversy bandyed in that Letter betwixt the R. R. Bishop of *Lincoln* and me, and give the Right where it is, either with his Lordship, in his heavy Charge upon the Whole Roman-Catholick Church, and all her Members, or with me in my Defence of that great diffusive Body.

These inducements, with the ambition of appearing under the protection of a Great Name, gave me the boldness to presume upon yours, with the most profound respects, and grateful acknowledgments of a Soul deeply sensible of your great, and long continued kindness,

## *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

ness, and with my ardent prayers, that what I read in the Prophet *Job*, may be verified in your Grace! *A brightness like the beams of Noon-day, shall break out upon thy Evening, and when thou thinkest thy self-consumed, thou shalt rise like the Day-star.*

**Your GRACE's**

**Eternally devored**

**Servant,**

**Peter Walsh.**



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# THE PREFACE.

Reader,

**T**O let you understand, in the first place here, somewhat of the different occasions of writing the former Three of these Letters : be pleased to receive this brief account.

I. In the year 1674, by Order hence from his late Majesty, a strict Proclamation issued in Ireland from the Lord Lieutenant, who then was the Earl of Essex, commanding not only all Popish Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, General Vicars, and all others exercising jurisdiction, but all Regular Priests whatsoever, to depart the Kingdom by a certain day at their utmost peril. And this without the least favour shewn to those unfortunate Regulars, who had been actually then, and for several years before, very great sufferers in their own Church, and from their own Brethren too, for having sign'd the Loyal Act of Recognition, which commonly goes by the name of the Irish Remonstrance, and who therefore could expect no kind reception abroad, where-ever the power of the Court of Rome Ministers could reach them. Now because I had my self been the man, that by my example, and reasons had in the year 1661. S. V. perswaded those Regular

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## The Preface.

gulars (as I did many others) to subscribe that Remonstrance, and thereby expose themselves to all the indignation of those Roman-Court Ministers; I saw my self above any other concern'd in that unexpected contingency, to represent their case in the best manner I could to his Excellency, in hopes that his generous compassion would thereby be moved to connive at their stay at home. And this indeed was not onely the occasion; but the sole immediate end of my writing the first of these Letters, to the Earl of Essex.

2. The two next Letters, being to the late Roman Catholick Bishop of Ferns, Nicholas French, had as different occasions for my writing them as their Subjects are diverse. This Prelate, among the Roman-Catholick-Confederates of Ireland, in the time of their unjustifiable War (began Anno 1641. on the 23d of October) had been assumed first, from being a Parish Priest in the Town of Wexford, to be a Burgess in the General Assembly at Kilkenny, and soon after rais'd to the Episcopal order, and consecrated Bishop about the year 1643; the onely (since that war began) so rais'd before the Nuncio Rinuccini arrived in that Kingdom from Innocent the Tenth. He had in the year 1646, been the most Leading Member (as he was Chancellor too) of that fatal Congregation of the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticks at Waterford, which brake the Peace concluded that year at Dublin by the Irish Commissioners with his Majesty Charles the First of Blessed Memory, or (which is the same thing) with his great Commissioner the Marquess of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of  
that

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that Kingdom. And so likewise, after his return from Rome (whether he went Embassadour from the said Confederats an. 1647.) and his Submission to the Second Peace, or that of the year 1648, changing parties again, he was one of the most unhappy Ecclesiastick Congregation of Jamestown, which renounc'd that very Second Peace, and as much as in them lay, restored the former Confederacy anew.

In the general desolation, and subjection of that miserable Kingdom to the Parliament forces, he had retired into Spain, and been well provided for at S. Jago, officiating as Suffragan under the Archbishop of that See, and continued so till the year 1666. When being invited home by me, and thereupon quitting his plentiful easy condition at S. Jago, he would notwithstanding write to the then Lord Lieutenant his Grace the Duke of Ormond, a long Letter justifying the aforesaid Congregation of Jamestown in every point. He had on this new occasion, tho come in his journey homeward as far as S. Sebastian, receiv'd there from me a countermand of that Licence I procured for him before to return home: and therefore turn'd his course through France to Flanders: where, by the Internuncio Airoidi's means, he thoroughly reconciled himself to the Court of Rome, who till then were angry with him for having upon his return from Rome to Ireland, anno 1648, not onely submitted to, but promoted the aforesaid Second Peace concluded then at Kilkenny; tho he had soon after (viz. at Jamestown) been one of the Chief Breakers of it. In the years 69, 70, and thenceforth being provided for at Gaunt,

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by

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by officiating as Suffragan under the Bishop of that See, but frequently notwithstanding at Brussels with the Internuncio, he had been put upon it by him, to endeavour by his Letters to decoy me thither from hence: and this by all the Rhetoric, and specious arguments he could. In the year, 1672, finding all his attempts on me that way unsuccessful; but especially after perusing my First Epistle ad Haroldum in print, he had thought fit to alter both his design and stile, and let me know, that being at last convinc'd of the justice of my cause by my Latin printed Letter to Harold, he had plainly writ to Rome, That if they could not refute my Allegations, he would himself thenceforward communicate freely with me, as looking on the Excommunication, by their order pronounc'd against me, to be void. And seeing no Body undertake to Answer me, he proved as good as his word, continuing a very fair, and friendly correspondence with me by frequent Letters from Gaunt to London till the year 74. When having receiv'd, and perused my History of the Irish-Remonstrance, which then came out in print, he seem'd by his expostulations with me, to have extreamly resented my freedom in that Book, threatening withal it should be answer'd. He had nevertheless thought better of it: and instead of writing against me, contented himself with setting out onely the portraiture of Ireland in a little Book, which he calls his Bleeding Iphigenia (but intended by him as a fore-runner to a greater Work against the Acts of settlement of that Kingdom, since His Majesty's happy restoration); and in that little Book



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*Book quoting me, and inserting in it several passages out of my Reply, made some 24 years since to The Person of Quality's Answer to a printed Letter of mine, which desired of the Duke of Ormond (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) a just and merciful regard of the Irish Nation. He had by such references to my former writings flattered himself, I would approve of his Iphigenia: tho the main scope of it was a plain justification of the Irish Rebellion, and breach of the two Peaces by his Lordship, and the rest of the Clergy at Waterford in 46. and at Jamestown in the year 49. And therefore in the foresaid year 1674, when he sent me that little Book, earnestly press'd me for my judgment of it. Finally, he had on my dislike of it, signified by Letter to him, not onely alter'd again his stile, replyed with much acrimony, treated me as a publick enemy to the Nation, as an Ismael against all, and all against me; and in a word, arraign'd me as guilty of the unpardonable sin, viz. the calling their just, holy and necessary War, a Rebellion; but withal, and notwithstanding my advice to the contrary, dispersed so many printed copies of the said Iphigenia, both in Ireland, and England too, that several of them came to the hands of such Protestants of both Nations, as were most concern'd to make, and accordingly did make that use of them which was most proper, and obvious to continue for ever the afflictions of a people, who justified Rebellion, as a just, holy and necessary War, against their Lawful Prince. And this was the occasion of my writing the former of those two Letters*

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here to that *Venerable Bishop of Ferns*. And I must confess, I conceiv'd it to be such an occasion as did put an absolute necessity on me, tho partly for my own vindication, yet chiefly for the conviction of that most Reverend Prelate himself; to make him see both his great error, and great guilt, and move him to repentance for both, and by his example the rest of that poor Nation, who had been so fatally misled by him in former times, and whom he would still keep in the same erroneous thoughts by his *Bleeding Iphigenia*.

3. The latter (of those two Letters to Ferns) being in order the Third here, had a far other occasion for the writing of it. Indeed, when I writ the former with so much freedom, I little expected his Lordship would any more vouchsafe me so much as a line, or a word, or any kind of correspondence at all; much less desire my judgment of any other new Book of his own. But it happened otherwise. For very soon after the receipt of that Letter of mine (dated Aug. 1. 1675.) he return'd me a great complement. Which was, that he received from me the best Letter I had writ in my whole Life; that I had not written it in a dream; and that he would therefore take time to answer it. Tho, to this day I have neither seen nor heard of any such answer: unless peradventure some may fancy against all reason, that the little Book entitled *The unkind Deserter of Loyal Men, and True Friends*, must be such an answer. Which yet I am sure it is not, because it returns not a word to the Reasons or Subject of that Letter of mine,

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mine, nor so much as mentions it. For however the nameless Author (supposed to be the said most Reverend Bishop of Ferns himself) falling heavily first on the Duke of Ormond, whom without disguise, he calls by that Title of The unkind Deserter, &c. and next, on Peter Walsh, as one who writ for His Grace against the Peace-breaking Bishops of Waterford and Jamestown, has truly related some particular matters of Fact, able to move a disinterested person to some at least commiseration of that people he pleads for : yet so he has not any where attempted to justify, or defend, his false suppositions all along, of the lawfulness of the war it self, and of the breach of publick Faith in rejecting both the Peaces, and restoring the Confederacy again. But to pass by now this Author (whoever he was) and his manifold both omissions and commissions too in relating some other, e'en very matters of Fact ; what I would say to my purpose here, is, that soon after the foresaid Bishop of Ferns had complemented me as before, he very earnestly desired my judgment of an other late Book of his own writing, which I receiv'd from him, but a few days before I had sent away my said former free Letter. The Title of it was, The Doleful Fall of Andrew Sall. And I must confess, that when I had read it, I was very unwilling to let him know what I thought of a Book, which represented the Church of England, as partaking with all the Sects, that ever had been from the Cainists to the Quakers ; nay, as leading undoubtedly all her Children, all her Members, both Priests, and People, without ex-

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ception



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ception of any, to the eternal woes of *Hell*; e'en damning them all for a long eternity to the *Life of Devils* in the other world. For so does that *Book*, written by occasion of this good *Bishop's* old acquaintance, the said *Andrew Sall* his having deserted the *Jesuit's Order*, and *Roman-Catholic Church*, to make himself a *Member* of the *Protestant Church of England*, as he did. Nor would I indeed have ever let his *Lordship* know my thoughts of it, had he not urged me more than once, or twice either; for I was loth to contristate him anew. However, you see the occasion of my writing the latter of those *Two Letters* to him; which makes in order the *Third Letter* of this *Book* of mine, and contains what the subject required it should; e'en many things both new and strange and extremely displeasing to a *Prelate* of his principles, or interests, or both; that is, to a creature of and wholly depending on the *Roman Court*, especially in the time of his *Banishment* abroad.

4. That I give him not his due *Titles of Lordship*, most *Illustrious*, and most *Reverend*, in either *Letter*, or in the beginning of them (as custome every where in that *Church* has given all *Three* to all *Bishops*, at least ever since the *Title of Eminency* was given to the *Cardinals* by *Urban the VIII.*) the onely reason was, my writing these *Letters* from *London* to him at *Gant* as to a private *Gentleman*; and this by his own command. Nor did I think it fitting to alter a syllable in the copies for the publication of 'em in print. All the advantage I derived from this private unknown capacity of his, was onely my speaking to him with the greater freedom, and sometimes also of him as of a *Third person*, but his nearest *Relative* in the *World*. So

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So much of the several occasions of my writing the First, Second, and Third Letter of those here, on so many different subjects, and to persons too of as different Interests both in Church and State.

5. As for my Fourth Letter (which is in order of place, because in order of time it was the last written, that is, in the year 1684.) tho' it make well-nigh Four parts or Five of this little volum, there needs not much be said of any occasion of writing it: since the Title Page says, it is an Answer to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln's Book entitled Popery, or the Principles and Positions, &c. and since I can further say, it is a direct, and full Answer to all the particulars of his Lordship's heavy Charge in that Book of his, against the Roman-Catholick Church her self in her whole diffusive Latitude. For considering I profess my self to be, what I have ever yet been, and purpose with God's grace to continue evermore in Life and Death, a member of that very Church: and withal considering how no man could have read that, no less famous, than bitter Invective against Popery, without seeing therein much more than just occasion given by his Lordship, even to every individual writer of that Church, at least in these Nations, that were able, to answer him: I say nothing now of the particular occasion, and manifold considerations too, that very much against my own peculiar inclinations put me on writing this Answer to his Lordship. Both the one and the other, may be seen at large in the Preliminaries of that Answer it self.

In the next place (Reader) as to some contents of the second and third Letter, be pleased to observe these following particulars.

1. That

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1. That where, in my second Letter, pag. 68. I say, Our inward Conscience must be the immediate Rule of all our Actions: I hope no impartial considerer of my discourse there will imagin I would therefore make our conscience, either Universally in all Cases, or indeed in any at all, such a Rule as must be true, and infallible in guiding us; or such a Rule as can Universally excuse our Actions, while conform to it, from being sins; or such a Rule as can always plead that conformity of them to it, to be virtuous, or pleasing to God. Surely no man that will but consider what I drive at there, will imagin any such thing to have been meant by me. Nor that I could be so ignorant, as not to know, that the revealed word of God, and eternal dictates of right reason, otherwise call'd the Law of Nature, or Law divine natural, must be the only infallible Rules, tho mediate and outward, to square our actions by, and render them just. And yet I confess my meaning there, is, That our inward conscience, how erroneous soever, must be still so far the immediate Rule of all our actions, that whensoever we act against it, we sin against God, even in case what we do were materially conform to his Law. Tho, on the other side, it doth not follow, that whensoever we act according to it, we please God, or do that which is truly a virtuous action. And the reason is plain. Because to render any action virtuous, many things must concur; and among others, that it be neither against the known, mediate, outward Rule of the Laws of God, nor the inward, immediate, unknown Rule of the private dictates



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*dictates of his conscience who acts; but to make it vitious, the deficiency of either is enough; according to the old Philosophical Maxime, never yet disproved, Quia bonum ex Integra causa, Malum ex quocunque defectu.*

2. That in my Third Letter, where (in the 75 page) I speak somewhat of the Canon Law *Maxime*, [Qui dubitat de Fide infidelis est.] He that doubts of the Faith, is an Infidel; or except against the ordinary sense in which our Canonists, and Theologians make use of it, extending it to the case of doubting of any one Tenet whatsoever, practical or speculative, defin'd in the Roman Church; there, by the words Roman Church I do not understand the Roman Catholick, or Universal, but the Roman particular; or (which is the same) the particular Church of Rome: Nor by the Term defined, mean any definition made in pure matter of Christian Faith by a General Council truly such; but onely some definitions made by some Popes, without the Concurrence of such a Council. As, for example, that of Boniface VIII. in the last lines of his Extravagant Unam Sanctam. de major. & obed. [Porro subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, & pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis] where he declares, says, defines and pronounces, that no humanæ creature can be saved, who is not Subject to the Bishop of Rome. And several other such might be instanced. Tho I pass by, as none of them, what Aventinus (*Annal. Boior. l. 3.*) tells, how by Pope Zacharie's command Vergilius Juvenensis

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nensis had been deprived of his Bishoprick, being accused of heresie for holding the Earthly Globe was inhabited round by men who were Antipodes to one another. It is onely of such unquestionable definitions of Popes, as that is of Boniface the Eighth, I would be understood in the foresaid passage (of my Third Letter) where I say, That for my part I hold the extension of the above Maxim, to the case of doubting of any one Tenet whatsoever, practical, or speculative, defined in the Roman Church, to be very false, and very unreasonable, and very improbable too as to any intrinsick probability in it; For otherwise I have ever acknowledg'd, as I do at present, and ought to do, that the true Christian Faith requires an interiour assent of such firm adhesion, to the object, That whoever willfully or deliberately, and reflectingly doubts of any one Article of it, knowing it to be as such, Universally, and firmly believed by the whole true Catholick Church of Christ, is undoubtedly, at least for so much, in that very moment, turn'd infidel in his heart.

3. That in reference to the same Third Letter, and former part of my long discourse therein, which begins pag. 79. and continues to the 96th inclusively, where I deliver my own sense above board against the Bishop of Ferns, for the possibility of Salvation, at least to all those, who out of pure invincible ignorance either live or die in the external communion of the Protestant Church of England, and by consequence in the external profession of many Doctrines condemned as Heretical by the Church of Rome, and Council of Trent; who ever thinks I am  
singular

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singular in that matter (or plea, which onely regards the internal Court of Conscience, and Judgment or Tribunal of God) I referr him to Francisus a S. Clara's work entitled, Deus, Natura, Gratia, and his Fifteenth Probleme there, which is of Invincible Ignorance. Where he may see a very great number of Roman-Catholick Doctors, even Scotus, and Vega, and Corduba, and Cajetan, and Azor, and Zanchez, and Faber, and Vasques, and Valentia, and Angles, besides many others, nay, the greatest part of our Scholasticks, leading the way before me, concurring in the same Doctrine (as to all who onely are according to the School-tearm, materially Schismatics or Hereticks) and asserting that not onely invincible ignorance, but invincible error, against the true Faith, or Church, does not exclude any from Salvation. He may see their places, and words, exactly quoted there. Yea, and he may see that very learned man himself of the Roman Catholick Church, Francisus a S. Clara, following them, and positively declaring himself (for that common doctrine of theirs, and of the Schools in general) even as to the particular case of England by name.

4. That for the latter part, which begins pag. 97. and goes on to the 119 page, almost to the end of that Letter, I need not say other than that, altho it be indeed, as there in terminis, my own proper collection, and composition: I give it notwithstanding not as my own sense; but as the general, and perpetual Plea of the present Church of England, in relation to the external Court of man; or (which is the same

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same thing) in defence of her self, and her Doctrines, before man, from any stain either of heresie or schism, or other condemnation by the Catholick Church, or any lawful Representative of that Diffusive people of God. And yet I will more over say, that besides letting the good zealous Bishop know, what he seem'd to be wholly a stranger to, and yet which import'd him much to know, viz. That Plea of the Church of England, there was nothing so much I aim'd at, by giving it so fully, and sincerely, as thereby to give occasion to the more thinking, honest, moderat men of both sides in his Majestie's Dominions, to consider at last of the true, and best means of ending all their controversial differences, the

\* Quod Semper, quod  
Ubique, quod apud omnes.  
Commonitorij cap. III.

old Rule of Vincentius  
Lerinensis; \* who is said  
himself to have been one  
of, or at least one present  
at the general Council of Ephesus, the Fourth  
of those General Councils, which even the present  
Church of England undoubtedly receives. For  
altho I was not ignorant, there were not want-  
ing some persons of each side, who never desired  
to see the Churches at Peace, and therefore cared not  
ever to hear a word of the means to effect it,  
by putting all debates to a final issue at last upon the  
old Universal Tradition of the Church in all times  
and places, and among all persons too that were  
held of her communion; yet I was not at the  
same time, as neither am I now, without a firm  
perswasion, that in all likelihood, and notwith-  
standing those few children of discord to the con-  
trary, all the sober part of mankind must not on-  
ly



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ly think that Vincentian Rule the most equitable of any can be appeal'd to by either side; but even judge against that side, whatever it be, that shall decline tryal by it in a fair, and free conference, before unexceptionable Judges.

5. That the Author of the Title given to the same Third letter of mine, as it was publish'd (unknown to me) in my Lord Bishop of Winchesters Book, an. 1683. has wrong'd me much, tho perhaps he did not think so himself. In that Title page he says, that Letter was written by a Regular Priest of the Church of Rome, to the Bishop of Ferns in Ireland, by way of Apology for Doctor Sall. But certainly no such matter can be gather'd from any thing I say either of this Doctor, or upon any other Subject in that Letter. No nor from any thing said in either of both Letters, to wit, pag. 67, 68, and 69, of the Second Letter; or page 76, 77. 121, 122. 123. of the Third, which are all the places, where I so much as mention him, or speak a word in reference to him. And I am sure, I was myself, as far as from East to West from intending any such matter; that is, to write by way of Apology for Doctor Sall, or (which is the same thing) for his departure from the Communion of Rome to that of England. Nor will any indifferent man, who shall but read what I say to the Bishop of Ferns (pag. 76.) of the method he took, and spirit he express'd in his Book against Doctor Sall, &c. imagin I had written that Letter, or would any other, by way of Apology for Doctor Sall. Much less will such a man, who withal considers the very

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utmost I deliver as my own sense for the Church of England, imagin I would write an Apology for any person's going over to her from the Church of Rome. Tis true, that in my second Letter here (pag. 68.) I say in general, of such learned, judicious, sober, ancient men, who depart and declare themselves of an other Church, we ought to presume they did so out of meer inward conscience, until we have some evidence or sufficient proofs to the contrary. But this was onely said in opposition to those unjust men of either Church, who contrary to that command of God, Nolite judicare, usurp his incommunicable priviledge in judging of the interior of other men, without other ground for it than their departing from them. Besides, it was not there nor else-where said by me, that the meer inward conscience of such Departers might not be erroneous; no, nor was it said, it might not be so, even to the worst degree of error; I mean that which is vincible, or improbable, inexcusable, sinful. And neither the one nor the other being said, its manifest there is nothing in that passage like an Apology for Doctor Sall; tho, something indeed by occasion of Doctor Sall's departure, not impertinently said for that charity, that justice, that duty one man owes to another in this life, not to judge rashly of his inward conscience, and consequently no worse of it than it needs must be. Tis true also, that in the Third Letter (page 122.) being return'd again to Doctor Sall, and giving that account of him, which the Bishop had formerly desired, and long expected from me, I give nakedly, and truly, the  
brief

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brief Apology which Doctor Sall himself by word of mouth had made to me for himself, that is, for his going over to the Church of England. But withall, it must be as true, that no rational man could thence conclude, I had written that long Letter (of a 125 pages here) or indeed, any part, or page, or passage of it, or other, by way of Apology for Doctor Sall. Unless peradventure it be the same thing, to give an account of the Apology one makes for himself, and to make one for him. And I am certain there is nothing else in that Letter can warrant such an inference from it. So that from first to last, it appears, the Author of the Title of that Letter in my Lord of Winchester's Book, has wronged me much; tho I believe he did not intend it. Indeed according to the contents of that Letter, the Title should have been thus conceiv'd by him: The second Letter written by a Regular Priest of the Church of Rome, to the Bishop of Ferns in Ireland, by occasion of Doctor Salls departure from that Church, to the Church of England, and of the said Bishop's censure, condemning all, both Priests and people of the Church of England for ever to Hell. Which had it been, as it ought to have been the Title there, I would have passed over several other lesser faults of that edition of my said Letter, which I have corrected in this of my own. For as I cannot but disown what I did not write: so I am not ashamed to own what I did, either in that Letter, or in any other Treatise or Letter of mine: being ready nevertheless to condemn what-

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ever I shall be convinced of to be amiss in them.

And now Reader, in the third place, and in reference onely to the Fourth Letter, give me leave to acquaint you with a few things more, which may perhaps be necessary to prevent some mistakes that otherwise might happen.

1. That because I had written this Fourth Letter in the year 34, before his late Majesty Charles the Second of glorious Memory, had ended his peaceable Reign, I could not be therein concern'd about any thing happened since, either abroad or at home: and by consequence neither in any of the late disputes, no not even those I mean concerning the Deposing Power, occasion'd here amongst us, either by the Papist represented, and misrepresented, or the Bishop of Condom's Book.

2. That nothing hitherto said against either of these Books can at all weaken, or shake in the least, any of my Answers to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln's Book charging the said Deposing power upon the Roman Catholick Church, as own'd by her.

3. That not even my instancing (among other examples) the Doctrine, and practice of the Gallican Church, Kingdom, Universities, people, so manifestly, and often all along in the succession of so many Ages, especially the last 300 years, appearing to us against all kind of Papal Usurpations, can be weakened in any manner, as to the use made thereof by me to justify my undertaking for the Roman Catholick Church against his Lordship, and all others on that point



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point of the Papal Deposing Power. No not weakened in any manner I say, neither by the prevarication of Sorbon under the Holy League, nor by the impostures of Cardinal Perron's harangue to the Third Estate of France (18. Cal. Feb. 1615.) under the Minority of the last King, Lewis the XIII.

Not by the former. Not onely because every man of reason must see that no effects of popular sedition and fury are to be counted the free Resolves of Universities or Churches. And every man of reading sees, that such was the carriage both of the Sorbon Doctors, and Leaguings Bishops under Henry the Third, and Henry the Fourth of France. Nor onely because that in the very heat of that League, an. 1591, the Monitory Bulls of Gregory XIV, by which Henry IV, as a Relaps'd Heretick, was declared incapable of the Crown of France, and that Kingd.m exposed as a prey to Forreigners, were by order of the Parliament of Tours on the 5. of August, torn in pieces by the common hangman, and publicly burnt: that Order it self, or Decree of Parliament, being of this tenour, "That on consideration of the reasons alledg'd by his Majestie's Procurator General, they declare the said Monitory Bulls, dated at Rome 1. March 1591, to be void, abusive, seditious, damnable, full of impiety and impostures, contrary to the sacred Decrees, Rights, Immunities, and Liberties of the Gallican Church; and order the copies of them sign'd with the seal of Marfilius Landrianus, and subscribed by Septilius Lamprius, to be torn by the chief Tortor's hand, and thrown into the Fire,

( b 2 )      which

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“which to that end shall be made before the Palace Gate, &c. But also because the sentence itself, whatever it was, that was carried in that seditious conjuncture by the prevailing either factious, or fearful part of the Sorbon, under the presidency of the Popes Nuncio, and contrary to the judgment of their Dean Faber, and some other of the Senior Doctors, had after all not a word in it for the Papal deposing Power. To say nothing now, that neither those fearful Sorbonists, tho’ gathered together, nor the factious Bishops, scattered here & there amongst the Leaguers, could in any manner represent the Gallican Schools, and Churches of that very time, much less those of all former, and following Ages, to this present, who were, & are unanimously against them on that very point, whatever it was the Holy Ligue and their own panick fears had wrought them to declare then.

Not by the latter. Because the very worst, either obtain’d or driven at by Cardinal Perron’s foresaid harangue, was onely to hinder at that time the enacting of a Civil Law, which would make the not abjuring the Papal Deposing power-Doctrine to be Treason in France, or should make it, or the contrary Doctrine, to be other than problematical and free, as to any penalty from such a Law. And we know that as well the owning as the disowning of Christianity it self, has, in respect of the Temporal Laws, been very free in many Countrys, that generally profess’d it even for many ages, before any such Law of Treason was made against the denial of it. And we know also, that the Royal Defender of the Cause of all Kings, as well against Cardinal Perron as others, King  
James

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James the First of Great Brittain, has (in his Declaration. pro Jure Regio) invincibly prov'd, not only the Cardinal's Allegations in the said harangue to be extreme false, where they say in one place, that the Deposing Power-Doctrine was believ'd by the Church for Eleven hundred Years, and in another before, that ever since the Schools were opened in France, both all other parts of the Catholick Church, and France it self, believ'd till Calvin's time, that in case of heresie, Kings might be deposed by the Pope and Council; but has unanswerably refuted all his arguments for either; yea (pag. 6.) particularly proved, that the Gallican Church has ever taught, and accurately defended, that their Kings could not be deposed by the Pope. Besides, that he has made it evidently appear, how the whole of that fine harangue is from first to last the most fallacious that could be, the most contradictory to itself, the most replenish'd with false propositions, false assumptions, false examples out of History, false collections from all, and false inconveniences too, pretended by this Cardinal if the desire of the Third Estate did pass into a Law. Nay, and that, besides observing particularly (in his Preface p. 7.) how the same Learned Cardinal had both adhered to Henry the Fourth for many years, even then when he was by the Pope declared no King, and in a solemn Assembly at the Jacobins in Paris, openly resisted the Popes Legat, endeavouring to obtrude that Deposing Power Doctrine as an Article of Faith; He moreover gives us (in the 9th, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth page of his fore-

\* See this Declaration on pag. 10. and before, pag. 5. and 6.

( b 3 )                      said

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said Preface) out of the same Harangue, Twelve special arguments to prove the Cardinal had all along in it delivered himself e'en plainly against the inward sentiments of his own Soul.

All which, whoever duely reflects upon, especially if it be withal considered, that neither the Nobles, nor the Bishops themselves, as Members of that Assembly of the Three Estates, nor both together, were in any proper sense Representatives of the Church of France. That on the other side the Third Order did, in the most proper sense can be, represent

\* Tho not as Commons, yet as Christians.

all the French Commons; which \* without doubt not onely made up, at least the far greater part of the Gal-

lican Church properly so called, but comprehended all the most knowing of the Laws and Customs, and Rights of that Nation, whether considered as a Church or a Kingdom. That moreover they, notwithstanding the dissent of the other two Estates, remain'd firm in their own Resolve to have that Deposing Power-Doctrine by a Law declared e'en impious and against the word of God. And lastly, that they could not be rationally presumed to have learned those Principles, which led them to such a Resolve, from any other then their own Universities, and Churches. I say, that whoever duely reflects upon, and considers all these, and those things, hitherto said by occasion of the said Harangue, and effects of it so lately objected, may be much rather convinc'd of the constancy of the Gallican Church, and State, or Kingdom in opposing the said erroneous Doctrine of the Papal Deposing Power, than perswaded of any the least inconstancy of either in  
approving



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approving it then, or before, or after, at any time. And however that be, I am sure every judicious unbyas't considerer of all hitherto said both to this Harangue of Perron, and to the former Instance of Sorbon, may be convinc'd that my instancing the Doctrine, and practise of the Gallican Church, and Kingdom, against my Lord Bishop of Lincoln, cannot be shock't or weakned by either of them, as to the use made of such instances by me to defend the Roman Catholick Church against his Lordship, or that point of the Papal Deposing Power, and consequentials of it.

4. That neither the Hungarian Censure of Primate Szelepechemy, and his few inferior Associates in October, 1682, nor the Spanish Inquisition's decree at Toledo, Jan. 10. 1683, nor the Lovain Professor D' Enghien in his opposition to Natalis Alexander, nor the four Theses publicly maintain'd by the Jesuits at their Colledge of Clermont in Auvergn, June 26, 1683, nor altogether (alleg'd by the Remarks on the Reflections, &c. 1686) can signifie other than a meer impertinent nothing, if they should be insisted on to weaken any thing at all said by me, in defence of the Roman Catholick Church against my Lord of Lincoln's attack of Her. For I no where so much as suppose either the Church of Hungary (especially as it is at this time a poor one indeed, and wholly depending on the favour of the Pope; and as perfectly hating whatever seems to be French) or the Inquisition of Spain, or any Lovain professor of later times, or any Colledge of the Jesuits Order, to have declared themselves, or be indeed other then for the Court of Rome Principles.

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*Nay, I could allow so many more such very Churches, Inquisitions, Professors, Colledges, Orders, to have been for some ages, and be at present e'en publick maintainers of all the Usurpations of Rome: and could allow this, I mean, without impairing one tittle of my defence of the Roman Catholick Church, against my Lord of Lincoln's Book.*

*5. That, as far as lyes in me, to prevent the admiration of any Readers, especially Roman Catholics, at my discourse in the XVth. Section, where at large I refute the First of his Lordship's Ten Suppositions: and consequently, and by many arguments, evince it not to be the Doctrine of the Roman Catholick Church, that the Pope is either Infallible, or at all the Supream Judge of Controversies arising in Her, &c. I desire them before-hand here to consider onely this brief passage of the truly Catholick, and*

*\* Richerij Histor. General. Concil. l. 4. Part. 1. pag. 34. Edit. Col. an. 1683.*

*Learned Richerius \* in his History of the General Councils. "Quondam in primitiva Ec-*

*"clesia, etiam de Episcopi Romani sententia cognoscebatur in Synodo Provinciali: "quæ singulis annis semel atque iterum habebatur: sicque tribunalia Ecclesiastica omnibus patebant; non autem, ut fit hodie cum "summa injuria claudebantur per absolutam "potentiam; quam & Papa sibi super omnes "Ecclesias, & vicissim singuli Episcopi Aemulatione Pontificis super omnes sibi inferiores contra jus divinum & naturale arrogant: "omniaque cum Oligarchico Concilio Monar-*

*"chice*

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“ chice decernunt : sicque & vetera schismata corroborant, & viam ad nova muniunt. ] In the days of yore and Primitive Church, even the Bishop of Rome’s decree was review’d in the Provincial Synod : which was held every year twice : and so the Church Tribunals were open to all ; not, as they are now a-days, with extream injury, by absolute power shut. Which Power the Pope arrogates to himself over all Churches ; and in imitation of the Pope, all Bishops do, in their turn, arrogate over all their inferiors, against the Law of God and nature : and thus Monarchically they decree all things by the advice of a few persons, and so not only strengthen the old schisms, but open the way for new. So be, on that Subject ; and, if I be not much deceived, enough to my purpose here concerning the Pope. And so, for preventing likewise, as much as lyes in me, any offence or wonder to the more Scrupulous learned Roman Catholick Readers, if they shall peradventure light on some passages of my own, that seem (for indeed they do but seem) to hint it as my own very sense, that even the Council of Trent had not been an Oecumenical Council truly such ; or (which is the same thing) had not been a Representative (with all the Essential Conciliary properties or conditions of such a Representative) of the Universal Church of Christ on Earth : I think it in the same manner enough, before hand here, to referr them also to the same most Excellent Richerius’s brief History, and fearless candid judgment of that very Council. You have both in his foresaid History of General Councils, l. 4. Part. 2. from pag.

169.

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169. to pag. 234. which ends that celebrated illustrious Work of his.

6. That for the same end of preventing the offence or admiration of any Roman-Catholicks, where they shall meet the Titles of Right or Most Illustrious, & most Reverend, given by me to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, I desire them to consider my reasons.

1. I had about twelve years since (in the Preface to my History of the Irish Remonstrance) publickly in print, acknowledg'd my own opinion to be, that the ordination of the Protestant Church of England is valid; meaning it undoubtedly to be so, according both to the publick Doctrine of the Roman Catholick Schools themselves, and the ancient Rituals of all Catholick Churches, Latin and Greek; nay, and to those Rituals of all the Oriental heterodox Churches too, as Morinus the learned Oratorian has recorded them.

2. I had for me the precedent of the great Catholick Bishop S. Augustine, writing his one hundredth sixty second Epistle to all the Donatist Bishops of Affrick, who, I am sure, were further off from the Catholick Church of those days, than any Church of England Protestant Bishop of these, we live in, is, or, even according to the Nine and Thirty Articles, can be from Her. And yet that famous Letter of S. Austin's to those Donatist Bishops was superscribed thus: [Dominis Dilectissimis & merito predicandis fratribus, Glorio, Eleusio, Felici Grammatico, & cæteris omnibus quibus hoc gratum est, Augustinus] "To  
"our most beloved Lords, and worthily celebrated  
"Brethren, Glorius, Eleusius, Felix the Gram-  
"marian, and all others to whom these presents  
"shall



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*"shall be grateful, Augustin. Which undoubtedly in those days was at least as respectful, and caressing an Address from a Catholick Bishop to Donatist Bishops, as the Epithet of Right, or Most Illustrious, & most Reverend, made use of by me in addressing to, or speaking of the Bishop of Lincoln, are at this time even from a Catholick Priest to his Lordship. 3. No longer since than the first of July, 1675, the Roman Catholick Andreas Olszouski by the Grace of God Archbishop of Gnesne, Legat Born, Primate, and First Prince of the Kingdom of Poland and Great Duchy of Lithuania, writing to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, made no scruple to give his Grace, tho of a different Religion, the very same Epithets of Most Illustrious, and most Reverend Lord, nay, to superscribe to him thus: For the most Illustrious, and most Reverend Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, &c. Which I have the more reason to be assured of, because not only the Original, soon after being delivered at Lambeth, was, within a few days more, shewed me by His Grace my good Lord Sheldon of pious memory; but the Answer to it, entrusted also by His Grace to me, that is, to my careful sending it to Poland in my own way. And because this Epistolar Treaty between those two most Illustrious Primates of Nations, and Churches so distant, as Poland, England, Rome, is somewhat extraordinary, but especially because it was begun by the Roman-Catholick: therefore I please the Readers with a true exact copy of his Letter, which I have kept by me this ten years, without communication of it to any till now. For thus it begins and proceeds.*

**Re-**

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Reverendissime & Illustrissime Domine Amice  
Colendissime,

Cum nonnulli idonei homines, rogatu meo  
susceperint negotium investigandi privilegia antiqua celeberrimæ et Primatialis in Anglia Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, audaciam sumpsi compellendi desuper Illustrissimam et Reverendissimam Dominationem vestram. Licet enim ignoti, & religione diversi, tantoque terrarum ac maris spatio divisi agamus; plurimum tamen confido de celebrata Illustrissimæ & Reverendissimæ Dominationis Vestræ humanitate, eam, in extradendis mihi per copiam authenticam Privilegijs, presertim Legationis Natæ, quibus Ecclesia Cantuariensis cæteris in Anglia Cathedris, antequam Romanæ Ecclesiæ Nuncium remisisset, præstabat & præfulgebat, atque nunc præfulget, haud gravate demonstratum iri. Concessum olim erat anno 1515. Privilegium Legationis Natæ a Leone decimo Papa Archiepiscopis Gnesnensibus Primatibus Poloniæ tali verborum contextu, concedentes ut omnibus & singulis privilegijs, libertatibus, præeminentijs, exemptionibus, immunitatibus, honoribus & gratijs uti & gaudere, ac quod omnia & singula facere & exercere ac mandare, ordinare, & exequi, quæ ad Legatos Natos & hujusmodi Legationis officium habentes quomodolibet pertinent, & quæ alij Legati Nati, præsertim vero Legatus Cantuariensis in Provincijs suis de jure, privilegio & consuetudine, mandare, facere & exequi possint, libere.

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libere & licite valeat, &c. Sed quam ex causa Privilegium ipsum Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis superLegatione Nata serviens Antecessores mei non requisiverint, siue illud incuria hominum aut injuria temporum deperierit, mihi non constat. Reperio aliqua vestigia in Authoribus maxime prerogativæ Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium; ex ipso tamen fonte hauriendum duco, quod in commodum, honorem & jus meum utiliter derivem. Quod si ab Illustrissima & Reverendissima Dominatione Vestra impetravero, plurimum ejus benevolentiae & præstito mihi officio obstrictus vivam, ac omnibus si quæ dentur occasionibus promptitudinem rependere conabor. De reliquo Illustrissimæ & Reverendissimæ Dominationi vestræ cupio me esse commendatissimum, Eidem longævam valetudinem cum omnimoda prosperitate ex animo apprecando. Datum Lovicij in Arce mea Archiepiscopali, 11 Julij 1675.

Reverendissimæ & Illustrissimæ  
Dominationi Vestræ

Addictissimus & testor paratissimus,  
Andræas Olszousky Archiepiscopus Gnesnensis.

*So that Letter of this Roman Catholick Archbishop of Gnesne, and Primat of Poland to the late Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury; without so much as one syllable's, or tittles Variation of this copy from the Original. 4. I had always perfectly abhorr'd the custom of those English Controversy Writers on the Roman Catholick side, who in their Answers to any Protestant Bishop, or speaking*

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ing of any such in their Books, were so far from treating him with those ordinary Epithets, or significations of meer civil respect due to his dignity, that they commonly vouchsafed him not the bare Title of Lord, much less of Bishop (but with the addition of Pseudos or some such other adjective of contempt) onely stileing him Doctor; for example, Doctor Laud, Doctor Morley, &c. As if Heresie, or Schism, or both, had they been Legally or Canonically convicted of both, could render the civil authority of the King, and his Laws insignificant, or the spiritual character of Episcopacy void. Or, as if they were only Melchites, or (which in effect is the same thing) meer Parliamentary Bishops. Or lastly, as if the ignorance, and rudeness of bigotry were not as much against Catholick Religion itself, as against reason, and good manners too. And thus you have in brief my reasons for observing my Lord Bishop of Lincoln (tho a zealous Protestant) with the decorum of all respects due, either to his great Learning, or his Episcopal Order.

7. That, as to the contents in general, or the whole of my undertaking against my Lord of Lincoln's Book, when I ventur'd upon it, I could not but see that all the advantage of great Erudition, great Reading, and great Authority lay on his side: and nothing at all on mine, save onely the better cause, and naked truth, and some ordinary knowledge of those things, which I conceiv'd would undoubtedly of themselves clear the fog rais'd by his Lordship, if they were once made known. So that for any advantage on my side, I must acknowledg my self, at least in part, beholding to his Lordship's  
very



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very ill choice of a Subject, to quarrel the Roman Catholick Church. Others I confess have been more wary in their choice. And so might his Lordship too, if the panick fear of the year 1678. had not seiz'd him to a very extraordinary height. Thus being over all whatever I would say here concerning both the occasions, and contents of these Four Letters: it remains, that in the last place, Reader, you be likewise pleas'd to understand what the motives were, I had for the publication of them at this time. And, if I know my own heart, they were no other than those I had first to write them. 1. Even a true desire to contribute in my way, at least somewhat, nay all whatever any of the several occasions, given me to write, would fairly allow me to offer, towards the lessening those extream prejudices of both the main contending sides (the English Protestants, and English Romanists) one against another. 2. Even a great Longing too, to see each side more Christianly thinking thoughts of peace for the Catholick Church of Christ, than I perceive either of them disposed to at present. 3. Even some hopes nevertheless (for the arm of our Lord is not shortned \*) that the blessed day is not far off, when they shall on both sides, not onely heartily desire one another to pray for the peace of Hierusalem\*, but effectually shew by their mutual concessions, that God hath heard their prayer. 4. Even a very firm perswasion however, that in all, and for all contingencies, It becomes every Believer of the Gospel, whether Protestant, or Papist, or Catholick

\* Isaia 59. 1.

\* Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Hierusalem. Psal. 121. 6.

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tholick or Schismatick, to endeavour, in his station, all he can, the restoring of peace to the divided Churches of our Lord, who in his divine Sermon on the Mount, assures us,

Mat. v. 9.

that blessed are the peacemakers; because they

shall be called the Sons of God. 5. And Lastly, I might add also this for a very particular, tho' lesser Motive, that among the Roman Catholicks themselves, in this Nation, I observed a Zealous Party so long, and so mightily contending for blind obedience to the Pope, and Court of Rome, that in the mean while they seem'd not to have much regard of the more sacred, and rational obedience owing to the Catholick Church Herself, and her Decrees and Doctrines. Nay, that the very Notion of the Catholick or Universal Church (the undoubted Spouse of Christ) was in a manner lost among 'em, at least so obscured by them, that many of the Faithful, especially the middle sort of people, scarce knew what to hold, or where to find it. I observ'd that zealous party, even yet so very unjust as to decry their Catholick Brethren of the same Church for disobedient, and refractory, nay for as bad as Schismaticks, Hereticks, and what not? onely because they would not be as unjust as themselves. I observ'd hence the necessary sequel; Divisions within, among the Domesticks of Faith; and scandals without, hindering those without, from any fair correspondence with a Church, they saw those Zealous men accounted chief sticklers for. And from these Observations I concluded, that surely it must have been a duty incumbent on every true son of that Church

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*Church, at least where it lay fairly in his way, To vindicate Her from the imposture of Zealots, and set her once right in the opinion of Protestants. That is, To clear Her from the false Doctrines of the Deposing Power, and of that Infallibility, and of that Supremacy too, which those men of zeal attribute to the Pope. And by consequence, To clear Her likewise from owning that other false Position, which asserts an absolute Monarchical Government in, and over the whole Catholick Church, as ordain'd so to be either [de jure divino] by the institution of Christ, or [de jure Ecclesiastico] by the Canons of the same Catholick Church. And after all (and notwithstanding the four several new definitions of Canisius and Bellarmin \*) To restore*

*out of Alfonso de Castro, \* the true ancient definition of the Militant Church*

*\* See Launojus ep. ad Nicol. Gatinæum, Part. VIII. Epistol.*

*on Earth; viz. The Congregation of all the Faith-*

*\* Castro de Heres. Lib. 1. cap. 6.*

*ful, which is one Body, whose Head is Christ, and each of us Members of one another. A definition of Her, manifestly derived from the Apostle, Rom. 4. 5. and 1 Cor. 12. 13. 27. and Ephes. 1. 23. and Colos. 1. 18. Which is all I have to say of the Motives, inducing me to the publication of these Letters now.*

*As for the subscription of my name, to each of them, (so contrary to the late Custom, even of both sides, especially since 84.) my onely reason was, that I would prevent their being look'd upon by any, as bare products or exercises of lea-*

( c )

*surely*

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surely hours, which no Member of the Roman-Catholick Church would ever dare own. And yet I can withal assure thee Reader, I would be as shy as another to run any probable risk of being censur'd by Her. (whether in the mean while, and present circumstances, she alone make up the whole, or be but onely the far more illustrious part, of the Catholick Church we all believe in, according to our Creed.) Nor certainly will any indifferent person misbelieve me in this particular, who shall but consider the import of these few following Lines, which on the present occasion I would annex here. For in them, and by them, I declare likewise under my own hand, what undoubtedly has, in preparation of mind, and disposition of soul, ever been my purpose. viz. That I do most heartily, and humbly submit all my Writings, not onely to the Censure of the One, Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church of Christ on Earth, or its Lawful Representative, an Oecumenical Synod, truly such; but even to any other free Synod justly representing so much as the Occidental or Latin Church alone. And, which must be consequential, that I do [*ex nunc, pro tunc,*] from this moment forward, intirely acquiesce in all the determinations, even of such a very Occidental Synod, which shall be receiv'd by the Diffusive, or National Represented Churches of the same Roman Catholick Communion. Besides, if I should profess my self not to be so Tenacious, or fond of my own sentiments (if yet any be in my Writings, which may be said to be peculiarly my own: as I believe



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lieve indeed there are none) that I would not freely submit 'em to the impartial judgment of a far less authority, I mean the private sence of any judicious moderate Learned men; nay, that I would not be ready e'en to retract, or correct whatever so much as one single person shall, not by the bare Dictates, or absolute will of a Despotical Imperious power, but by Arguments of Theological Reason, proper to the Subject, convince me to be amiss in them: I should after all profess no more than every modest Writer, at least in such matters, ought; certainly no more than I, for my own part, am resolved with God's grace, to perform. For, as the Apostle says [2 Cor. 13. 8.] We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.

And so at last (good Reader) you have Preface enough: and for the last point of it, even that very declaration, and entire submission of my Soul to the Church, which I have but now given, and here confirm with the Subscription of my own proper name to it. London 14th of January, 1686. New Stile.

Peter Walsh.

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# LETTER I.

To the Earl of *Essex*.

*May it please your Excellency,*

**T**He great place of Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, which you hold so Worthily, and the honour I have had of some (however little) acquaintance with your Excellency, make it part of my Duty now to present your Excellency with a late English Folio-Book of mine, together with some other Pieces in the same Language, the Author whereof desires not to be known.

In such a distance, which hinders me from performing this Office in my own person; the surest way I could fix upon to discharge it otherwise, is by Mrs. *Mary Crook*, who is the Bearer of this Letter, and in whose Printing-house at *Dublin* one half of the said Folio-Book was printed some years since.

What your Excellency will think of such an Address from one so little known to

B

you,

you, and so much disown'd by the Laws of the Land, as I am, I know not certainly. But considering all circumstances, I cannot but hope your Excellency will take in good part this unbecoming, perhaps, but yet well-meaning boldness of mine: and not only afford my inconsiderable Present a gracious acceptance, and serious perusal; but vouchsafe likewise a patient attention to a few sad Reflections, which upon this occasion I presume to lay before you.

To hope which (however extraordinary) favour, I have, besides other considerations, this inducement, that according to my best judgment, your Excellency may (in quality of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*) be at least somewhat, if not very much concerned in the arguments of the Books, and I am sure is interested in the subject of my present discourse, as being occasioned by Orders of your own; I mean your late reiterated Proclamation for banishment of the *Irish* Prelats, and all *Regular* Priests, &c. On which Proclamation if you please to reflect, you will behold how truly unfortunate in this World the few conscientious Ecclesiastical Subscribers of the *Irish* Remonstrance are.

I mean that honest Form of profession of Allegiance to his Majesty, signed and presented in the year 1661. and since become famous by the oppositions made against it,  
though,



though, to my judgement, if it have any fault, it is only this; That 'tis not full enough, and home enough in those very particulars, which are so much decried. To this Form, notwithstanding the fierce contradiction of a thousand other *Regulars*, and more than a thousand *Seculars* of the Roman-Catholick *Irish* Clergy, subscribed (besides the rest, *i.e.* besides a hundred sixty four Laymen, and sixteen, and but only sixteen *Secular Clergy-men*) by four and fifty *Irish Regular Priests*. Of which *Regular Priests* subscribers those (for some are dead and some have retracted their subscriptions) who remain yet alive, and withal continue firm to their said profession of Allegiance, must be now content to see themselves under a new affliction more grievous than all the former (though manifold heavy and almost incredible) Persecutions so long patiently endured by them only for not retracting their hands, that is, (in effect) only for not disowning the King. I say more grievous, &c. as well for other reasons, as particularly, because it is a more unexpected affliction, as proceeding wholly from thence, from whence they never once imagined, or at least, never once feared it should proceed, nay, from whence they might, and did rather with much reason hope for Cherishment than Severity. But alas! poor souls, they see themselves now as far as from East to

*West*, mistaken. They see that by your Excellency's Proclamation, in pursuance of Letters received from his Majesty upon the Address of the House of Commons of *England*, for removal of Grievances both in *England* and *Ireland*, they are, at their utmost peril, commanded to depart out of the Kingdom, and that command so exactly put in execution, that there is not so much as the least connivance for any of them.

My Lord, I am my self one of those Ecclesiastical, *Regular*, and Unalterable Subscribers, and have now endured so much and so long upon that account, that custom of suffering may be thought to have taken from me the sense of it. And possibly, were the case only my own, I should look upon a new affliction with little new disturbance; Passion not being raised by customary things. But I must confess I cannot reflect on the deplorable condition of my friends without tears of grief; nor without unusual wonder imagine how it comes to pass:

That a few men of known and approved Loyalty, and approved by the very best of all Trials, Persecution, should for no other reason than for being *Regular Priests* of the Catholick Church, and should even by the Royal Authority, for maintainance whereof they have suffered so long and so much, be thought unworthy to breath in the Air of  
their

their native Country, and therefore be excluded even from that freedom which, at least, twelve hundred of their Anti-Remonstrant-Opposers are permitted to enjoy.

Truly the condition of these men is very hard. If they disobey the Proclamation, and stay at home, besides the apparent and inevitable hazard which they run from the Laws, they must of necessity starve. For they cannot find either harbour or shelter so much as among their nearest Relations; Whether the tenderness of nature in them be overaw'd for fear of the penalties mentioned in the Proclamation, or hardned by the practices of their perpetual Antagonists, the Anti-Remonstrant Clergy-men both *Secular* and *Regular*, vigilant to observe, and diligent to lay hold on all occasions of exercising their hate. If they obey, they give themselves defenceless up to the cruel mercy of all their *Irish* Adversaries whatsoever, and other Papalin Zealots in Foreign Countrys: While in the mean time such vast numbers of those very *Irish* Ecclesiastics, who chiefly hitherto opposed them in the controverted point of Loyalty, and chiefly procur'd, yea, as Executioners wrought all their woe; nay, who chiefly declared themselves in effect for the most disloyal both principles and practices, and therefore had, and still have all the favour and countenance of *Rome*, are notwithstanding

ing both protected and cherisht at home even by that very self-same Royal Authority, which in plain, or at least equivalent terms they refused to own any farther or longer than it should please the Pope.

My wonder is exceedingly encreased when I consider that this distributive Justice proceeds originally from the Honourable House of *English* Commons in Parliament assembled. Far be it from me to entertain so much as a single thought derogatory in the least from the wisdom and equity of that great Council. I know very well the Justice, the gravity and exactness of their deliberations. Neither have I the vanity to think my insight, even into the affairs of my own Country (thogh in some of them, I mean such as relate to these matters, I have my self been a considerable Actor) comparable to the knowledge of many Members of that Body. My wonder is so far from disesteem of their Persons or Proceedings that on the contrary 'tis my esteem of them which causes my wonder, and makes it appear the stranger that considerations which to me seem of great importance, should before better Judges have had no weight.

The two very first and most obvious consequences of exposing in this manner some Catholick Priests (such whose honesty has past the fiery furnace of affliction, and been



been approved like Gold) to new Calamities, from which other Catholick Priests of contrary Principles are exempted, seem to me both very evil, and yet very necessary: The one being a strong and tempting incouragement to all, even the very most disloyally either principled or affected of the Roman Catholick Priests, whether *Regular* or *Secular*, in any of his Majesties Dominions, to continue so disposed for ever, nay, to grow worse and worse in that behalf, if possible: The other a no less powerful discouragement, even to the most Loyally inclined, from continuing their Loyalty or Fidelity to the King, or at least from hazarding the loss of either life, or limb, or liberty, or goods, or ease, or any thing at all for his sake, or the sake of being, or being reputed Loyal.

Since they thought fit to make a distinction betwixt Priest and Priest, whereof one to be permitted, and the other banished, I should have thought the only material distinction would have appeared to them as well as me, a Distinction not between *Secular* and *Regular* Priests, but between Priests of *Loyal* and *Disloyal* Principles, of whatever sort or name, or institution the Priests be. Such a distinction seems important enough to the safety of the Weal-publick, while none are harbour'd or conniv'd at in the Nation, but such who are true to the Civil Authority:

and besides carries with it the honour of Protecting Innocents, and the Justice of employing the Civil Sword as it ought, for punishing of the bad, and praise of the good. So that Honour, and Justice, and Safety, that is, all the considerations which use to bear sway in the Consultations of that Honourable House, pleading so strongly for it, I should have thought that it might become their Wisdom, originally to have made that distinction and established it by a satisfactory Test, if they had not found it already made to their hands. But what advantage will arise from the difference put betwixt *Seculars* and *Regulars*, without farther addition, I must confess I am too short sighted to discover.

The two Ends aim'd at (as far as I can conjecture) by the Address before-mentioned, and by what hath followed upon it, are Security of the Nation, and Ease of the People. But to me it is very strange that the Nation should become more secure by the banishment of well-principled *Regulars*, and reteining ill-principled *Seculars*. If it were not that perhaps I may be suspected of Partiality to a Body whereof I am my self a Member, or at least be thought an unseasonable broacher of odious, and useless disputes, I should think that looking upon *Regular* and *Secular* purely as such, and as the case stands in *Ireland* (for in other parts of his Majesties

ties Dominions the case is otherwise, but speaking only of *Ireland*) that the *Regular* Priest is the less dangerous to the State. I mean the Mendicant *Regular* ( of which sort the *Regulars* generally of that Nation at present are.) For he being by his Rule, profession of life and Canons of the Church, incapable of Benefices, and getting his maintenance wholly either by officiating, or begging, or both (but still from the free Benevolence of the People, and by way of Alms only ) is not concerned in Tythes or other Church-Livings, to which he hath no manner of Claim, and of which he can have no hope. But *Secular* Priests in that Country preserving still the Titles of determinate places, and by that means continuing a kind of Claim to them, nay, procuring the most particular and Canonical provisions of them either by Collations from their respective Ordinaries at home, or by Bulls from the great Pontiffs at *Rome*, may be presum'd more to gape after such a change as will put them into the actual possession of the Lands, Tythes, and other Ecclesiastical Revenues belonging to their respective Titles, and which of right they think due to them, and wrongfully withheld by the usurpation of Protestant Incumbents.

This indeed holds not in *England*, where the *secular* Priests use no such ways, nor  
nourish

nourish any such hopes ( if not peradventure some very few persons amongst them, such indeed who by very ill advice have singled themselves from the Body and Government of the rest. ) But however these matters be in *England*, I must be of opinion still, that the Settlement being for *Ireland*, such a consideration might perhaps have had place. Though, as I said before, The only truly important consideration, in my judgment, is that of *Loyal*, or not *Loyal*; all others seeming to me but little material, or rather not at all, for the peace of that Nation or security thereof under his Majesties or Crown, or State of *Englands* Government.

Then for the *ease of the People*, the other end ( as I conceive ) intended by the late proceedings, I am as far from understanding how the people should be more eased by maintaining *Seculars* than *Regulars*. 'Tis true, I can see how it is an ease to them that Convents be dissolved, and all kind of other publick begging at Altars and in Chappels, or private begging from house to house, by, or for any Church-men or Church-women whatsoever, *Regular* or *Secular* taken away. But I should think it a greater ease, if only such of either Clergy were retained as were Registered, Licensed, and assigned to particular Districts, or to Patrons in the nature of Chaplains. And if these so Licensed were  
men



men of sound Principles in point of Loyalty I should think it of greater Safety too.

But to shew, as with the beams of the Sun, that neither the Name, nor Profession, nor even observance of the true Vows of *Regular* Priests as such, is either more or at all dangerous to Civil Government, I will at present mention only two Instances; the one more ancient, the other modern; but both well known to the World, and to at least a great part of the House of Commons it self. For doubtless there are in it many excellent Historians. Whereof as many as have read *Aventin's* Annals can justify to those who have not, that the very *Franciscan Regular* Priests alone were the men that, by the generous resolution of a General Chapter of their whole Order, a Chapter composed of Members of all Nations, held at *Perusia* in *Italy* about 300 years since, and by the learned writings of *William Ockam* and *Michael Cesena*, the former an *English* man, the latter an *Italian* and general Minister then of that same Order throughout the World, not only gave the first deadly stroke to the Papal Omnipotency, never since recovered by the *Roman See*; but, in the special case of *Lewis of Bavier* the Emperor, most signally utterly, and irrecoverably too for ever destroyed all sorts of Papal Claims or pretences to the Crowns and temporal Rights of Princes, *i. e.*

to all and every kind of Papal either Deposing, or Translating, or Suspending power of them by Excommunication or other Sentence or means whatsoever.

My second instance shall be taken from home, from what has happen'd in our own days, and what we have seen with our own eyes, nay what has been done by the very men in question, and for the truth whereof I can call to Witness the certain knowledge of several Honourable *Irish* Members of the Parliament of *England*. There were *Irish Regular Priests*, whereof some are still living, who in the days indeed of Tryal from the year, 1646, to 1649, or 1650. above all other *Irish* Churchmen, yea contrary to most of them as well *Secular* as *Regular*, eminently in their station opposed, thwarted, ruined for ever all the dangerous designs, and all the hopes too of the Papal Nuncio *Rinuccini* for alienating the Kingdom of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to a Forreigner.

If the best and most certain way, as undoubtedly it is, to judge what people would do in a supposed case, be to consider what they have done in the like, it is very strange that such men as these should be apprehended dangerous to the State, and more strange they should be apprehended more dangerous than those who acted quite contrary. I little thought when together with them I laboured

boured to the uttermost of my power in the Common Cause of Fidelity and Loyalty, that I should ever live to see the day in which we who had given such proof of our selves should be judged dangerous to the Security of the Nation, and judged so by the united Wisdom of *England*.

The House of Commons in *England* is composed of men of constant Loyalty, tender of Justice, and careful of their own, and the Nations Honour. Is it possible that an Address of theirs should Sacrifice alive to the inexorable cruelty of the Roman Inquisition the few Loyal Survivors both of the now-mentioned *Irish* Anti-Nuncio-men, and of the before-mentioned *Irish* Remonstrant Priests, only because they are *Regular* Priests? Or, that the right meaning of any words of theirs should compleat the Martyrdom of as well the only Assertors of Christian Loyalty among so many thousand other Roman-Catholick *Regular* and *Secular* Dissenting Priests, who remain still within his Majesties Dominions, as of the only sufferers these many years for that very cause alone? Yea, and sufferers almost beyond all belief, and sufferers, I say, even of all whatsoever evils the most exorbitant abuse of power in their own Church, and the most inveterate malice of their own Anti-Remonstrant Brethren could inflict or bring upon them by suspending

ing; Deposing, Excommunicating, denouncing, and even publicly affixing them, nay, by depriving them of the Charity of the Living, and Legacies of the Dead, and converse of friends and all whatsoever is comfortable in this World: having by force and fraud, and lyes, and calumnies both reduced them to a starving condition, and ( which is the worst of evils ) bereaved them even of their good name among all sorts of People, by representing them every where as Disobedient, Vow-breakers, Excommunicate Wretches, Apostates, Schismatics, Hereticks, nay, betrayers of their own *Irish* Nation, and underminers of the Catholick Church?

I know not whether there be not too much presumption in what I am going to say. And I humbly bespeak your Excellencies pardon if my grief carry me beyond my Sphere. But sure it is no impossible, nor even unusual thing for a favourable interpretation sometimes to mitigate the rigour of words. And I should hope that if in any place through which the often mentioned Address has, since the Prorogation of Parliament past, whether in his Majesties Privy-Council in *England*, or *Ireland*, the general words had been understood not so much according to the rigorous sound, as the likely meaning of the Authors, viz. not to extend to increase the afflictions of those who have already suffered so



So much upon the account of Loyalty: or at least, since better judgments thought fit the Orders made in pursuance of the Address should be made in the terms in which they are, if a little connivance in the execution of those Orders, had put a difference betwixt well and ill deservers: in such case, I say, I should hope the Honourable House of Commons in *England* would not have thought their meaning ill comply'd with, although the uttermost severe import of their words had not been observed.

However it be, sure I am that things standing as they do, the Remonstrant *Regular* Priests are the most forlorn creatures alive, as being not only deserted by every side, but (which is far more grievous) persecuted now as well by that side for which, as by the other from which they have hitherto suffered. They are the only Catholick Priests that can expect no reception abroad in other Countrys of the Roman Communion, but the most afflictive imaginable, at least, unless they abjure their Principles of Loyalty and profess themselves Turn-coats, that is, Disloyal knaves and hypocrites to boot. And yet they are the only men that cannot so much as slightly hope for the least accommodation, refuge, harbour, shelter, or concealment, or subsistence at home in *Ireland* among the Lay-Catholicks; because at present these  
are

are, for the matter, universally possessed against them as well by the Venerable Authority of so many late Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Vicars Apostolic of Dioceses, Provincial Superiors of Regular Orders, &c. created by the Pope since the Year 1669. of purpose to extinguish them, as by the indefatigable industry of a far greater number of the inferior Anti-Remonstrant Priests both *Regular* and *Secular*. In the mean time all the Anti-Remonstrant *Secular* Priests not comprehended in the Proclamation, (who are at least twelve hundred, if not two thousand) are by both sides, *viz.* Catholick and Protestant, *Rome* and *England* sufficiently favoured: though as I suppose, upon different accounts: I am sure, without any merit from the State of *England*, however with very much from the Court of *Rome*.

And as for all those other *Irish* Clergymen whether *Secular* or *Regular* who (besides the few Remonstrant *Regulars*) are comprehended in the Proclamation, *viz.* Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Abbots, and all other exercising Jurisdiction, &c. and the great Body of *Regular* Priests, it is clear enough. 1. That seeing they all without distinction have been always declared (or at least supposed) Anti-Remonstrants, they must be consequently certain of a good Reception and comfortable Subsistence abroad

in

in Countrys beyond the Seas, every one according to his degree (if, I mean, compell'd at last to fly.) Nay that their leading men of Intrigues (the furious known declared enemies of the honest Remonstrance, and malicious indefatigable Persecutors of the few Loyal Subscribers thereof) must be farther assured even of honourable preferments in due time, as above all, their Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, must also be of considerable pensions during their Exile. 2. That because their great numbers, great Tyths, and no less greatly Factionous Principles varnish'd over with the specious pretence of Religion, supported by the great Pontiff of old *Rome*, and yet (for ought appears to them as yet) no way discountenanced by the late proceedings of our State, have given them a mighty interest in, and influence upon the discontented Roman Catholicks, especially the late Proprietors of their Nation, as likewise amongst the rude ignorant Rabble, they will, notwithstanding the present Proclamation, or even present Execution of it, always find shelter and subsistence at home, while their Flocks or Penitents have any for themselves.

So that from first to last, nothing can be more evident to such as throughly know the present disposition of the Roman Catholicks both Clergy and People of *Ireland*,  
C
than

than that the whole Stress of the said Proclamation (as indeed of all other such undiscriminating Edicts) must chiefly (though perhaps not intentionally) light upon the few Remonstrant Loyal *Regular* Priests. And that the most considerable effect will be, To render them (as is said before) the only forlorn creatures alive; if not, by interdicting them Water and Fire, To destroy them utterly from the face of the Earth. Whereof who is it that sees any thing, but withal sees the farther no less fatal than natural consequence? Even the pulling up by the very roots from among the Roman-Catholicks of *Ireland* all Christian Principles of due Fidelity and Obedience to the Civil Powers established over them by the Ordinance of God and Laws of the Land. Even the leaving, if not the licensing hereafter that very Nation to be instructed wholly by the Anti-Remonstrant Priests, albeit known maintainers of the most Anti-Christian Maxims of Disloyalty. Even, in a word (when, or as soon as opportunity serves) the unsheathing of Swords, and cutting of Throats, and returning once more in our own days to all other the horrid Spectacles, and concomitant woes of a Civil War.

My Lord, I will put an end to the trouble which so long, and so melancholy a  
Letter



Letter, must, if you vouchsafe to read it, needs bring you r Excellency, when I have mentioned one consideration more, and that wonderfully afflictive to me, because more neerly concerning my own particulars.

I cannot, without grief, see any suffer, much less not only innocent, but deserving men, and those my friends too. But all this is nothing to the grief I feel when I consider that 'tis I my self who have been the chief cause of their sad condition. For though I meant nothing less than to bring affliction either upon them or upon any others; yet 'tis I that by my Example and arguments and all endeavours I could use, first engaged those Remonstrant Regular Priests (as in truth I did all others who concurred with them) to sign the Profession of Allegiance, and since to adhere constantly to it against the violent opposition and persecution of all their adversaries both at home and abroad, yea and against all the power and thunders of the very Court of *Rome* it self. From that bitter Fountain it is from whence the streams of all their latter calamities are derived, and 'tis of me they have reason to complain for opening the Spring. Had it not been for my credit and earnestness with them, they had felt none of these troubles which have rendred these many years so sharp and grievous to them, and now

had been in as good case as any of their Neighbours, and as fair hopes of entertainment and incouragement in Foreign Countreys. 'Tis to me they owe this sad account of their time, That since their engagement with, and for me in the open profession, and maintainance of their duty (whether in the former controversie about the censures of **NUNCIO RENZUCCINI**, or in the latter about the **REMONSTRANCE** after his Majesties happy Restauration) what has past of their days has been full of bitterness, and what is to come is like to be much more. For my own part, as I never had other aim in the service of my King and Countrey than the discharge of my Duty, and never looked for Reward in this World, I am but little concerned at what has happened to my self; though my burthen hitherto, I think, has been the heaviest of all. But that my Loyal and Honest Intentions should draw my friends even the second time into a desperate condition of extreme misery, and that that second time should be now after so many years of his Majesties full possession of his Fathers Imperial Throne, and should be now even amidst the days of *Charles* the *Second's* most Sovereign Power and Glory (which neverthels God perpetuate) afflicts me so much that I am not able to confine the anguish of my Soul within my Breast. I have  
been

been a long, and faithful, (and I thank God) in some occasions not unuseful Servant to my King and Countrey : and I can again protest with truth I never pretended to, nor thought of reward for my doing but my Duty. But I must withal confess I little expected my zeal should one day meet with so sad a return: and well hoped, I should never have had the affliction to see the dearest of my friends, not any ways faulty otherwise than upon the account of Religion, nay, much and highly deserving, become very miserable, purely because they are very Loyal.

My Lord, I expect your Excellency should wonder in your turn, why all this to you? and what the share you have had in this business has to do with my complaints? Far be the presumption from me of taxing your Conduct, so much as in a thought. I well perceive it could be no other than it has been. But I hope it will not appear strange if an *Irish man* address to the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* in Affairs concerning *Ireland*. I hope the case as ill represented as it is, and by as inconsiderable a person will yet appear worthy your compassion. I hope compassion in such a breast as yours will not pass away as in Souls less generous, where it makes no more impression than unconcerning sounds, forgotten as soon as heard. Your compassion, I hope, will as the rest of what concerns you, be

worthy of you; such as will produce those effects for which compassion was by nature intended, *viz.* an effectual desire of relieving those whom we compassionate. I hope your Excellency will in time and place, such as to your Wisdom shall seem most proper, cause this case to be so represented that some relief be afforded to these unfortunate men; whom, with all the earnestness allowable in me towards a person of your great quality, I humbly recommend to your favour, as an occasion wherein, besides the inward testimony of a good conscience, which will bring you the unseparable joy of unloosing the hands, and lightning the burthens of the oppressed, you will purchase the applause of all good men, the seldom unheard prayers of innocent sufferers, and, together with their prayers and with their thanks, the most hearty prayers, and most humble thanks of

*My Lord,*

*London, Aug. 4.  
1674.*

*Your Excellencies*

*most obsequiously devoted Servant*

PETER WALSH.

L E T. II.



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# LETTER II.

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*The first Letter to the  
Bishop of Ferns,*

Written *Aug.* 1. 1675.

SIR,

**I** Had sooner answered your last Letter without date, had not I on the first perusal thereof resolved to obey your Commands relating to the Duke of *Ormond* before I did answer, since he was here on the place. Now therefore at last having

had an opportunity to read to his Grace that part of your Letter which you conjured me to shew him, be pleased to receive his Answer; which Answer to give you was one material part of your said commands to me, and ( if I be not much deceived in my judgment ) that indeed you chiefly ( if not only ) at this time expect to hear from me. Behold the reason wherefore I give it here in the first place, and as followeth,

1. That you did no more by not touching or charging him in your *Iphigenia* but what Prudence and Justice might have suggested to you.

2. That they were the *NN.* who raised first that scandalous and false report, as if he, and he alone, by a few words spoken by him in the House of Lords and Parliament of *England* had no less designedly than effectually hindered the Roman-Catholicks of the *Irish* Nation from being Pardoned and Indemnified by a General Act of Oblivion in that Parliament.

3. That his motives for speaking those few words which he then did speak against a motion made by one single Noble-man, who was not seconded by any other, were two. The one that upon rational and convincing grounds he was fully perswaded if that motion were not immediately checked in the manner he thought fit to check it,

many

many others would presently rise (but after another much different method) against it even in that very House of Lords (and much more in the House of Commons) who certainly would rip up at large the very bowels of the *Irish* Rebellion, display its cruelties, lay open its designs, exaggerate to some purpose the perfidious breach of two Royal Peaces by the Roman Catholick Confederates, and consequently move rather against their Case the Indignation, than for it the compassion of that very Parliament. The other was, that although a general Rebellion of the Roman Catholicks through *Ireland* might have given at least a specious pretence, if not undoubted Right to the Parliament of *England* to make a Law for *Ireland*, such as was that of XVII. *Civ.* I. yet in a time of perfect and general Peace in all his Majesties Dominions (such as was the time when the foresaid motion for Indemnifying the *Irish* Nation was made) it was but folly to think that either the Protestant Peers or Commons of *Ireland*, or other Protestant Subjects of any great concern in that Kingdom then, would be concluded by such an Act of the Parliament of *England*. Nay, he was certain the very Catholick *Irish* themselves, of any judgment and concern for their Country would never be content with the necessary consequence of such an *English* Act. *viz.*

To

To see themselves and posterity, both for Estates and Lives at the mercy of whatever Parliament of *England* at any time thenceforth.

4. That whether the late War of *Ireland* as begun in 1641. and continued after by the Roman-Catholicks of that Kingdom for many years, and as to all parties or individuals of them be or not be a Rebellion; he is certain your Principles, *i. e.* those you own and maintain partly in your Letters, and partly in your Books, are Rebellious, and as such condemned by all States and Kingdoms even of your own Ecclesiastical Communion where and when themselves are concerned.

5. That he neither afflicted you nor kept you from your Country, but your self; no nor pressed any hard things at all upon you, unless peradventure you think it hard that in the year 1666, he being the Kings Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of *Ireland* should not allow your needless Justification anew of the old business of *James-Town* under your own hand, and in a Letter to himself dated the same year.

6. That if it had pleased your self, you might for him, nay (for ought he knows) for any other also, these many years past, have as well as your brethren, and without being put to other extremities than they were, both lived and dyed at home; and that



that he understands not why you should not be connived at or permitted as freely and openly there as any of those of your calling, who are now, or have been there of late for so many years since his removal from that Government; or rather does not understand what you should fear more than they by coming or going home, seeing there is no difference made at home betwixt you and them by any.

7. That upon his seeing a Letter of yours to me some two years since (or thereabouts) importing you had some thoughts of returning to your Country, at least for some little time, he gave me the very same answer, and supposes I writ it to you then; *viz.* that he saw no cause why you might not both return and remain at home as well as others of your Function.

8. That however he has towards you heretofore carried himself in the quality of Lord Lieutenant General, &c. under his Majesty or would again in that quality peradventure were he again entrusted by his Majesty with that command: as this concerns not his private capacity, or personal obligations to you, in case you have laid any on him; So when he shall understand wherein you have not only in such a high degree (as you say) obliged him, but in any whatsoever you shall think fit to particularize, he will make all due Returns.

These,

These, to my best remembrance, are the heads and substance of all whatsoever his Grace did answer (about a fortnight since) to the several parts of your Letter which concerned him. For his words I do not exactly remember, having been so many days past spoken to me. That I writ not this Letter while I had them, (I mean his very words) in fresh remembrance, I hope you will pardon, because other both unavoidable and unexpected distractions hindred me hitherto from writing so long and serious an answer as the subject required. However by the heads now given, especially by the last of them you may perceive his Grace is so far from thinking his Fortune (whatever it be) gives him a priviledge to be your Enemy and have you a Friend, that on the contrary his Resolution is with God's good pleasure, not to pass out of this World a debtor to you (whether a disconsolated or consolated man) for kindness. And therefore you will do well to write as soon as you may conveniently the particulars of that service which you conceive to have been as great and good to his Grace as man could do to man. For he is on thoughts of returning back this *Autumn* for *Ireland*; though not yet (for ought I know) resolved in that point; because it depends (as I suppose) on the present debate at Court about hold-

ing a Parliament in *Ireland* this Winter; the Lord Lieutenant being partly for that purpose come last week from *Dublin* to *Windsor*. But forasmuch as in the end of your Letter you promise that upon receiving my answer you will send me another Letter, wherein you will say things never spoken in all our former correspondence, and things which will seem strange to me; if these be other than the foresaid particulars of the great service, &c. I hope you will not forget them.

In the next place give me leave to take notice of those passages in your Letter which concern my self. Your Pain and Fear and With in the beginning of your Letter are such friendly expressions that I must give you all the thanks I can, and continue for you all my best and holiest Vows. Nevertheless be pleased to consider a little, First, how vast the difference would be 'twixt my condition there and yours, had I gone thither now. Then how equal the distance of Heaven from thence and hence must always be. Besides, that it becomes not *Eleazarus* in his old age to depart from the testament of his Fathers, no not by dissembling never so little, or so much as seeming to eat of the wicked Sacrifice. Moreover that as I could not give a more deadly wound to my own Conscience than that which must have been the necessary sequel of going thither, if I would

would live, or at least live out of a Dungeon so neither could I at this present give a more fatal blow to the Roman-Catholick Religion in these parts than my going to your parts would prove; yea, although I went resolved to suffer and really after did suffer with as much Christian constancy in the *Roman Inquisition* under *Clemens Decimus*, as *Eleazar* did with Divine bravery under King *Antiochus*. Lastly, in which condition there would I have joy'd you much? In that of a Christian Martyr? Or in that of a vile Deserter? I do not think you would have me prefer some few years of an ignominious life, before a most glorious death, and all the immense durations of a blessed Eternity. And yet such a death (*i. e.* any Violent death whatsoever purchased by my going thither and suffered patiently for the cause I daily suffer for) could be no great advantage to your cause and Court of *Rome's* quarrel against me, but rather a very great disadvantage to both amongst all judicious men. How then would my coming to those parts where you are joy you much? as you say it would, had the damp lately come on my Spirits here brought me thither, and you wish to God it had. Peradventure you see between those two extremes of Martyrdom and Desertion some kind of *medium*, a third or middle state of Reception there  
expecting



## LETTER II. 31

expecting such a Soul as mine. If you do why cannot you say so? If not, why should not you rather (as becomes both your prudence and your friendship) prevail with the concerned mighty ones of your side, that my remaining still on this side of the Sea may not only joy you much, but make you joyful? And why may not I relying on such a friend, though still confiding more in God, return you your own words here? *Perhaps it may be done. Non est abbreviata manus Domini.*

What immediately follows in your next Paragraph is of another nature. It says you foresaw the *Iphigenia* in all its parts could not satisfy a man so Principled as I am; minding me with all I have not said, if it pleased me, in any part thereof. It says, the Author and I are *Antipodes* in many things, but particularly in this that he maintains the Catholick *Irish War* for just; I hold it a Rebellion. And then demands, what more different than a just War and a Rebellion? It says that on his side are all good Patriots, and against me (and with reason) for aspersing the Nation with a stain of Rebellion. It says (to conclude all whatever you would say on this subject) I am an *Ismael* against you all, and you all against me; adding nevertheless, that for all this the Author of *Iphigenia* cannot be my enemy. This, not  
unlike

unlike your self in a former  
 (a) Dated Feb. 7. Epistle, (a) is to speak clearly at last, deal plainly above-board, and waving all the false pretences of Religion and *Rome*) to acknowledge the true quarrel my Countrymen have against me; let the Court of *Rome*-men disguise it and shift for themselves as well as they can.

The precise words of that former Epistle are these, viz. *One thing I cannot conceal from you. Your asserting our just, holy, necessary War, to have been a Rebellion hath more offended your mentioned friend, and all sincere good Patriots, than what you have done about the Remonstrance. Believe me, that judgment you gave (a wrong erroneous judgment) Manet alta mente repositum.* And this either ingenuous confession or friendly admonition of yours under your own hand, I value so much, that were I to choose an enemy, it should be you; and did I know you to be such, I should honour you nothing the less. Yet I am far enough from granting all you say in either of both Letters or passages of them. Certainly not all good Patriots are of your side and against me. Nor is there any one of all who can be so with reason. There are many just, Loyal, Catholick-Irish-men who believe it in Subjects a heinous crime against the Laws of God, To take Arms against their Prince or Magistrates when

when the Laws of the Land do forbid them under pain of Treason. What think you of such scrupulous men? are they good sincere Patriots? are they for you and against me in the point? For my own part I think it manifest enough, That no right reason Warrants any man to say or suppose I have aspersed the Nation with a stain of Rebellion because I could not wash off the stain themselves had contracted. I must confess that in my Apologies for them I had not such a brazen brow of impudence as to deny either the notorioufness of Fact, or clearness of Law in their case. Nor did I think my self more concern'd to do so, than their own publick Agents and Commissioners Sir Robert Talbot, Colonel Gerrot Moor, the Earl of Glancarty, the Lord Birmingham, Sr. Nicholas Plunket, &c. or than so many thousands of their Nobility, Gentry, and other Lay-Proprietors; who all of them, both these and those, did for so many years both at London and Dublin in their Petitions, Answers, Certificates, Claims, and other Papers, acknowledge that fatal stain, and under this very term of Rebellion acknowledge it. On the contrary, I was convinc'd that if to please the caprich or humour of some few less concerned and less considering men, I had gone about (I say not to reverse, or check, but) so much as to decline, or so much as not even fairly and

D

fully

fully to allow so general an acknowledgment of the rest ; I had thereby done the whole Nation a thousand times more hurt than good, and been hissed at even by themselves for my indiscretion. And yet whatsoever could be alledged on any rational ground, even at their own desire, or by their own advice, I did with all the care and pains, and zeal imaginable from first to last alledge in their behalf, while there was any life in their business, or hopes of helping them. I made use of all the most perswasive Topicks to plead for Justice to their Innocents and Article-men, mercy to their Peace-breakers, Indemnity to all of every side from the rigor of the Law. And I did so when none of themselves, no not one of the whole *Irish* Nation, Clerk or Laic, besides my self durst adventure to speak a word in their common Cause, much less to plead for it under his own name either in Print, or in Writing. And yet there was no reward in the case. There was not so much as one farthing either received, or desired, or expected by me not even to bear my charges. Though at the same time their Lay-Agents and Commissioners had large Contributions even from the poorest men of the Nation paid them. Nay and one of them (an illustrious Person and sometimes heretofore an intimate friend of yours ) had moreover by my own Recommendation ( which he desired



red of me ) from Vicar General D. a prett<sup>y</sup>  
round sum of those very Altar-Collection<sup>s</sup>,  
which had been designed only to solicit and  
carry on the business (not of Estates, but) of  
meer Religion; for which notwithstanding  
nor he nor any of his fellow-Agents or Com-  
missioners did ever speak a Word. I will  
not say but after some years the Clergy  
thought not only of Re-imbursing but other-  
wise also Rewarding me generously even to  
the utmost of their Power. But what I say  
is that I would not receive either money to  
defray my charges or any other kind of Re-  
ward for my pains, although both have been  
offered to me. And what I moreover say is,  
that as I could not but foresee, so I found  
after by experience, There was much of ha-  
zard in the case; yea hazard of my Liberty  
and Life to boot. Witness the great appli-  
cations made to the King for sending me to  
the Tower when my Book against the person  
of Quality came forth. Witness the Lord  
High-Chancellor of *England* at the same time  
Lightning and Thundring against me, though  
immediately before he had been doubtless  
one of my most special Patrons. Nay, Wit-  
ness yet a more dangerous encouragement gi-  
ven by another mighty Man of both King-  
doms ( it was not the person of Quality him-  
self ) to murder me without more ado,  
when publickly at his own Table dining he

demanded whether none could be found to knock *P. W.* in the head?

Those things I did, and these hazards (besides many more) I underwent not for aspersing the Nation, but for asserting their cause; *i. e.* for vindicating them in some things, excusing them in other, extenuating their Crime where I could not wipe off the stain, and imploring the same Justice and Mercy to them which their Neighbouring Nations had already found. And to this day I have not entertained other Principles or Affections. Nor can any mortal man truly charge me that I have. And to this hour my hands are clean from sharing, and my heart from consenting to share in the spoil of the Nation. For though several (and amongst them even some *Ecclesiasticks*) you take for good Patriots, or at least have been for such cry'd up of late by some others, cannot say so much for themselves; Yet I can aver it confidently in the presence of the All-seeing God himself, I have been and would always be so far from deriving from the losses of my Countrymen any kind of lucre, how lawful soever in the case, that I have not once but twice and thrice declined five hundred pounds a year in good Lands offered to be settled for ever on me, or to my use on whom I pleased to name; and this without any undertaking, or condition, or Oath  
or

or Promise of my side, nay, without so much as any expectation of other Service from me than what every man of Sacred Function was antecedently bound to perform. Whether you will question my Prudence in this matter I know not, but think you ought not my Conscience? However, I am confident no indifferent man, that is, no man truly unbiassed by Interest or other pre-occupation, will judge otherwise of both, nor otherwise of the Arguments given before, than that they are perfect indications of a man who neither did nor would asperse the Nation with any stain whatsoever. To acknowledge a stain, and to asperse it are different things. The former I, and, with me, some thousands of honest, vertuous Roman-Catholic *Irish-men* have done in relation to *Ireland*: the later nor they, nor I. And if a good intention and great necessity excuse from evil and an odious term, their acknowledgment of the stain; why not mine of the same thing? Nay, it would seem but equitable I should have by so much the more grains of allowance, by how much I was more deeply engaged, and more closely attack'd in the common cause than any other: And it therefore concerned even the whole *Irish* Nation, I should express my self with more wariness, least I gave more advantage to their adversaries.

But

But what if no allowance at all were necessary on either side, nor plea of a good intention and great necessity, or any thing else to excuse their acknowledgment of a Rebellious stain? What if truth and Justice required this very acknowledgment? Herein we may be soon resolved by consulting but our Lexicons. *Qui arripiunt*

*Joan. Calv. in*  
*Lexic. Verb.*  
*Rebel.*

*arma in eum cujus jurisdictioni subditi sunt, vel qui fidem illi datam non servant, & jussis Magistratuum in iis quæ ad commissum ejus officium pertinent repugnant, propriè Rebelles appellantur,*

*Stattius Apud*  
*Rid. eod. Verbo.*

*Vid. Barthol. in*  
*Constit. Imper.*  
*Henric. VII. Qui*  
*sint Rebelles.*  
*Spieg.*

*says one of them. Qui semel Victi & in ditionem accepti bellum instaurant, quive Principis Imperium, detrectant sunt Rebelles,* says another. And so speak all the rest, and together with them all the Commentaries of Lawyers, and after both all other sorts of Books and Men

wheresoever they tell us what they understand by the word *Rebellion*. Neither will it be possible for you to evade by pretending our War of *Ireland* was not *against* the King, because the Oath of Association taken by the Confederates obliged them always to own the King. For to own him and be for him in such manner or as far as the Oath of Association taken by those Confederates obliged them



them, and to be notwithstanding *against* him are very consistent : even as to be one thing *secundum quid* ( or in a certain restrained, improper, diminutive sense ) and to be *simpli-citer* ( i. e. truly and properly without any kind of Restriction or diminution of the sense ) a quite contrary thing, are very compatible. But to own the King and be for Him, or not *against* him in the true, proper simple, unrestrained, undiminished sense of those words, and at the same time to do what the confederates did in that War of *Ireland*, are plainly inconsistent. They rose in Arms, they Levied and continued War contrary to his Laws, Letters, and Proclamations. They framed a new Model of Government. They received from, and sent Ambassadors to For-reiners. They seized His Castles, Forts, Magazines, Cities, Towns, Counties, Provinces, and all his Customs, and all his other Revenues, and all his Royalties whatsoever. They declared against his Religion, ejected his Clergy, and gave possession of their Churches and Church-Livings to those of a contrary Faith. They fought against his Royal Armies, destroyed so many thousands of his Loyal Subjects, Besieged them in their Garrisons, and burnt their Quarters. In fine, they wanted none of the Characteristics of downright enemies to the King, while that War continued for seven long

years at least. And if all this do not amount to so much as to be in good earnest or in very deed against the King, and not to be for him or Own him, but in bare insignificant words, I must confess my own ignorance both of words and deeds, and my readiness also to quit the main quarrel and abide your heaviest Censure. But if it do, then I have gained my point, and you must allow That even Truth and Justice required our acknowledgment of a stain so essential to such a War as the stain of Rebellion is.

Besides this Argument grounded on the signification of the Word as taught by Art and Use, there is another derived from the nature of the thing it self will pinch you sore even in your own Principles. For doubtless any War of Subjects against the Ruling Power, forbidden under the guilt of sin either by the Natural or Positive Laws of God (if I may so speak with our Scholastics) is that very thing which even your self holds to be Rebellion. This Major Proposition of my second Argument you must grant of necessity, seeing your defence of our *Irish* War obliges you to place the guilt of Rebellion wholly and solely in its opposition, not to the Municipal Laws of the Land, but to the universal Laws either of Reason or Revelation. And therefore my next Assumption which must affirm that very War of *Ireland* to have been

been such, *i. e.* forbidden under the guilt of sin, either by the one or other Law of God, is it concerns you to deny, and would me to demonstrate here, had I not elsewhere done it to your hand. See my little Book called *The more ample Account*, which you have by you. Read therein my answer to the fifth Exception made at *London, Ann. 1661.*) against the *Irish Remonstrance*. Peruse that whole Discourse ( 'tis but an hour or two's Reading) from page 64. to page 103. Consider it well and then tell me, whether I have not there demonstrated that all Wars of Subjects against the Ruling Powers, forbidden by the Laws of the Land under pain of High-Treason, are likewise forbidden by both the Natural and Positive Laws of God under the guilt of heinous sin? I dare say with confidence, That all the contrary Positions, and particularly your Supposition of a Law of Nature to warrant Christian Subjects in some special Cases to Rise in Arms against their Princes though Hereditary, and such Princes too whose municipal Constitutions or Laws received in their Kingdoms forbid under pain of High-Treason all such attempts, I have in that Discourse most evidently proved to be very false, and very dangerous, and even diametrically opposite as well to the strongest dictates of natural Reason, as to the clearest Precepts of Christian Religion.

And

And if this be not the same thing in effect as to have demonstrated that all Wars of Subjects against the Ruling Powers forbidden by the Laws of the Land under pain of High Treason are likewise forbidden by both the Natural and Positive Laws of God under the guilt of heinous Sin, I understand nothing. But if it be, and that withal you find my confidence is not vain, there needs no more be added, but what your self does grant as well as I, *viz.* That by the Laws of the Land our Catholick War ( as you call it ) has been forbidden under pain of High Treason. Undoubtedly there needs no more to evince it forbidden by the Laws of God under the guilt of heinous sin. No more to conclude it, in your own Principles, that very thing which your self holds to be Rebellion. Nor ought else to infer that even Truth and Justice required our acknowledgment of it as such, under its own proper name and stain. So do I truly think in my Conscience, without fear of being deceived in this matter by any false appearance of things. And so may you too when you have once more ( if perhaps you have once already ) perused that Printed Discourse whereunto I refer you. Nor am I without hopes that so you will, when you have considered the clearness of those two demonstrations there from Natural Reason, the one à *Posteriori*, the other à *Priori*,



*Priori*, which occur in the first place; and when you have pondered the strength of those other Arguments out of the great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* that follow next for the Precepts of Christian Religion: and when you have reflected on those unexceptionable Testimonies of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Augustin* that succeed the former, and deliver to us the Practice of the Primitive Christians all along to their times: and when you have examined those answers I give in the last place to clear the few remaining Scruples pretended to the contrary either from Reason, or Authority, or Example, and lastly when after all, devesting your self of Prejudice, you have consulted only your own coolest thoughts, weighed only in the Scales of the Sanctuary, the Allegations on both sides, and sifted all things to the bottom thoroughly between your self and God alone.

But if notwithstanding all I have said, and all I have omitted in that Discourse or this Letter, or even elsewhere in any of my other Books where I treat of this matter, you must always think my judgment of our just, holy, necessary War to be a wrong erroneous judgment, and I must always expect what your saying *manet alta mente repositum* does import; or if the Author of *Iphigenia* and I must ever be Antipodes on this fatal question; if he must still maintain the Catholick Irish War  
for

for just, while I hold it a Rebellion; if all your good sincere Patriots must continue of his side and against me, to the end of our days on both sides; if your self must yet affirm, that with Reason they are my Enemies, though the sole reason pretended is no better than a very false, and very invidious, and very injurious supposition; or if (which is the same thing) my acknowledging the Nation stained with Rebellion must contrary to all reason argue my aspersing it with a stain of Rebellion; finally, if I must never cease to be an *Ismael* against you all, and you all against me: God's holy Will be done in us on both sides, whether through our knowledge, or ignorance or passion on either side. For my part I shall the more patiently bear whatever happens, that before this at several times, and in several occasions, by Books and Letters, I have given the World an account of the hope that is in me, as the Apostle speaks, and now last of all you the trouble of this Answer; which yet (I must confess) your renewed Provocation of me has both extorted from me and made so long. Nor will so vast a Cloud of Enemies be able to shock my patience, while I have the comfort of your Profession for the Author of *Iphigenia*, that notwithstanding all he cannot be my Enemy, and for your self that I may confidently expect from you in  
all

all times and occurrences amity, candor and freedom to hear any thing I please to write. However, I must confess that in my circumstances this profession is very obliging, though in it self peradventure but strictly just.

Your questions and other advertisements about the end of your Letter do well become you, as proceeding not from Curiosity but Charity, piety and a Religious care of Souls. You would gladly hear from me what I will do with my self, for I am also aged. Will I also leave off Writing and Recollect my self, and think seriously of long Eternity? You would *Ormond* had also such mind. He is also old. Why do not I prepare him for this long Voyage? And then you conclude your Letter with that known Sentence, *Aut pœnitentium, aut arduum.*

What I will do with my self is a future contingency that falls not within my ken or knowledge. What I intend to do is another question, and I suppose that which you would have me answer. But my present intention being very conditional, and therefore very mutable, to what purpose would you hear it? Besides, I am not certain the Conditions essential to it would please you. I know the first of them depends of your side of the Sea, and is no impossible nor unreasonable thing. And then after all, you know who said in the Old Testament, *Non est in homine via*

*via ejus, & à Domino gressus hominis diriguntur: and who in the New; Neque valentis neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei.*

To leave off writing is a particular something more in my absolute power (i. e. less depending of Foreign conditions which are not in my power) than a disposal of myself in all other things for the remainder of my life. Must I therefore do so? Verily it is this be no reason to perswade me, no more can yours be. You suppose that which is not in the nature of things, an inconsistency between writing and thinking seriously of long Eternity. All those admired holy Doctors of the Christian Church, whose Patronage we daily invoke, taught us far otherwise. They left us another pattern of their own lives all along till death or their last sickness seized them. And both reason and our own experience can assure us there is no other employment whereof Mankind is capable (unless you would measure all by *Gregory Lopez*) so fit and proper to recollect the Soul as continual Writing, if the Subject be good and End just. It gathers all our thoughts. It suffers no dispersion of them. It employs them perpetually both day and night. It estranges them wholly from those objects of sense, which render the Soul gross and dull and fearful to look the King of Terrors in the face, or think of any duration beyond time.

Bue



But if I laid aside all other Arguments, will not your self be Argument enough? The Catalogue you were pleased to send me of your own Works, together with the account of your age, and how the *Doleful fall of Andrew Sall* is written by you this very year, which you say is the Seventy second year of your age, may be enough to answer your supposition. For God forbid you should not before this time, and even amidst your most important Writings, have had serious thoughts of long Eternity. Indeed I would have condemned my self as a very uncharitable man had I so much as thought otherwise of you. And why not?

I know no error concerning other matters either of Reason or Revelation can hinder us from thinking seriously of another life after this, and a Heaven to reward the Virtuous and a Hell to punish the wicked. Not only Catholicks, but Schismatics and Heretics, Nor Christians only but Jews, but Mahumetans, but Ethnics do many of them employ their most serious meditations on this Subject. Even I say many of the very Ethnics themselves do so. For as to all other Sects, who are guided by Revelation true or false, the case is clear, if you except only the Sadducees. Descriptions and Histories and a thousand other Books doe witness for them all. But so does the late History of *Indostan*, a great Kingdom

Kingdom in the East Indies, for Millions of  
 Ethnics in our days. And for many others of  
 them in the days of old, even before our Sa-  
 viour's Incarnation, the *Platonists* can testi-  
 fie. I am certain the Prince of their School,  
 the Divine *Plato* himself in his *Phedon* and  
 elsewhere abundantly testifies for his more  
 Divine Teacher *Socrates*, though meer Eth-  
 nics both of them. And I am no less cer-  
 tain the defence of *Socrates* before the *Athe-  
 nians*, and his Answers to the Eleven, parti-  
 cularly That which, even two hundred years  
 after, the Apostles of Christ themselves re-  
 sumed and gave *totidem Verbis* to the Perse-  
 cuting Council of *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, *Opor-  
 tet magis obedire Deo quàm hominibus*, and his o-  
 ther known Maxim *Totam sapientis vitam esse  
 mortis meditationem*, and his choosing to die  
 when by the very Law, and without Sin or  
 Shame he might choose to live; and then his  
 long discourse even for the whole day imme-  
 diately preceding his fatal hour, after Sun-set,  
 with *Simmius*, and *Cebes*, &c. of the immortali-  
 ty of the Soul, and Infernal Regions, and  
*Elizian* Fields, and place of Torments near,  
 and those for the just, and these for the wick-  
 ed; in fine, all the Virtues of his Life, and  
 all the circumstances of his Death, and his  
*Demon*, and his Poison are so many convin-  
 cing proofs that he did seriously think on  
 long Eternity. By occasion of which, and  
 many

many more such strange relations of ancient Pagans, whether the Book ( written by a Catholick Neapolitan a little before our Irish War ) entituled *De Aeterna Salute & Predestinatione Paganorum*, was written, I do not remember now.

This I know, that as no Error in our Understanding of other matters, be they even Articles of Christian Faith, can hinder our serious thoughts of an Eternal Being after Death : So neither can any state of Life, or place of Dwelling. *Socrates*, even that most Divine *Socrates* both lived and dyed in *Athens* the most populous City of *Greece*. There he was a Citizen, a Souldier, a Philosopher, a Senator, a Father of Children, an Husband, nay, and in pure Obedience to the Law of his Countrey the Husband of two Wives at the same time, and in the same house. All could not hinder him neither to think of Heaven, nor to speak of Hell, nor to persuade others to the most serious thoughts of long Eternity. As for Christians, ten thousand examples may be instanced amongst them of men of all conditions, Whose very Souls were always fixed immoveably on the same object. Not even the Mitres of Bishops, or Diadems of Princes, or Pallaces of either, no nor the loud din of Worldly Affairs about their ears continually, have been able to make the wise amongst them quit this best employment of their Souls.

E

And

And Shall Writing on a necessary subject do it? Nay, do it when the Writer is but a poor Banish'd disconsolate Prelate, or yet, a more private and much more afflicted Priest? shall abiding or sheltring ones Life at *Gaunt* or *London* do it? Or if the great *Arsenius* fled into the Wilderness by the admonition of his Angel; did not other holy men directed by theirs quit the Wilderness to live in the World? Nay what difference is there (to our purpose) 'twixt the life of an Hermit in the Wilderness, and that of a Recluse in the most Populous City on Earth? Or is not he that, notwithstanding he live in the heart of *London*, keeps his Chamber solitarily, visited by no body, conversant only with his Books, and thoughts, a Recluse to all intents and purposes? Truly if he be not, 'tis easily understood That his either remaining or writing at *London*, though contrary even to the commands issued from *Brussels*, *Valledolid*, *Rome* it self, must be wholly excen- tric to the cause of his not being such.

We have now seen that Recollection, and serious thoughts of long Eternity are not confined either to Wildernesses, or Recluses.

And I have elsewhere  
 \* Epist. 1. ad \* demonstrated, as you  
*Haroldum.* cannot but know, there  
 was no Authority in the  
 Commanders to issue any such commands;  
 but



but even a tie of Conscience on them to the contrary, and a farther obligation on him under the guilt of sin to yield their said Commands no Obedience at all.

This is what I can say to the second Querie. Unless you would permit me to add that until I come to your Age of 72. some 13 years hence, if it shall please God my life be so long in this World, I may, by your example, hold on Writing; though (I hope) not omitting in the mean while to Recollect myself, and prepare for those eternal ages in the other; for I am also old, as you well admonish.

And so is the Duke of *Ormond* too, you say. Right indeed. But the more unfortunate still our miserable Nation, I say. And I say it, because I think it on rational grounds; whatever less considering men do persuade themselves, or speak to others. O that our deluded Natives did see the naked truth of things already past, and means by which they came to be so past in their concerns! Or that, for what is future yet, they could enter into the Sanctuary of God, assist at the Cabinet Council of Heaven, and both hear and see there, without disguise, the true causes of all in contrivance now against them! And O that I were another *Isaiah* to cry unto the Lord, and obtain his bringing the shadow backward ten Degrees by which it has gone down in *Ormond's* Dyal!

As for your wish to him, I believe you have it already in a good measure. Besides other Arguments hereof, to me it is no insignificant one, that, much about the time I received your last Letter, His Grace ( without any occasion given by me or other ) as I waited on him on a certain morning was pleased, not only to recommend to my reading but deliver into my hands out of his own Closet a very singular and most pathetick Tract of the Immortality of the Soul, and rewards and punishments of the other life. Think you a person of his quick apprehension and clear Judgment can read such Books without Recollecting himself and thinking seriously on his everlasting concerns? or think you moreover that his frequent hearing as Christian Sermons as any can be preached makes no impression on such a Soul as his? Or think you perhaps they have not the Doctrine of Repentance, and worthy fruits thereof both preached and practised in the Protestant Church of *England*? Or at least, that they have not the Ministry of Reconciliation, nor the most holy Eucharist, nor a true Priesthood the Instrumental cause of the rest? Or think you possibly that he and I are of a Church? Behold many Queries which I return to answer that one single of yours demanding, why do not I prepare him for his long Voyage? What I can farther add is only,  
That

That on Earth there is not a Man I would more willingly prepare did he want, or would he accept my preparing of him.

That known Sentence which concludes your Letter I must allow. The *Origenians*, nay the pure *Pythagoreans* themselves, did allow what the bare words thereof import. I do much more; *i. e.* what I suppose your sence and meaning by them is, according as the XXIV. of St. *Matthew*, and such other place of Holy Scripture have been, at least ever since the Fifth *Oecumenical* Synod, generally amongst all sorts and Sects of Christians understood. But we are never a whit the near. For though I agree with you in Thesis, *i. e.* in the General Doctrine of Repentance for sin, and necessity thereof under pain of everlasting fire, and the life of Devils in some Infernal Region, yet in Hypothesis, *i. e.* about many grand particulars, whether they be sins, and consequently whether to be repented of, we are still at as great a distance as the two *Poles*.

I will only at this time instance in those few of them wherein you have most concerned your self these four and thirty years. The Insurrection of *Ireland* in Forty one. The Confederacy and Oath of Association that followed. The Acts of the National Congregation *Utriusque Cleri* at *Waterford* under the Nuncio *Rinuccini* against

the Peace of 46; The March of the Armies to besiege *Dublin*, and Declaration soon after of the General Assembly of the Three Estates at *Kilkenny* against the same Peace; The other yet more fatal Meeting of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Dignitaries at *James-Towne* against the second Peace, or that of 48. *i. e.* their Declaring against the Kings Lieutenant, their restoring the former Confederacy; and their Excommunicating all those would thenceforth obey him; Lastly, the unhealing rigor, and unpeaceable answers of the Committee of Prelates at *Galway*, to the Commissioners sent by the Kings Authority to treat with them.

These are some few of those grand particulars wherein we are so wide asunder. These you hold to be no sins, need no Repentance. You defend them all for Laudable, Virtuous, Meritorious deeds; for deeds becoming good Patriots, good Subjects, good Men. I hold in every point the contrary, even as to each particular of them. I am convinced they are not only Crimes against the Laws of the Land, but sins even of the first magnitude against the Laws of Heaven; nor only personal sins, of some few or many Actors, but (which is incomparably worse) National sins of the whole Catholick Party of *Ireland* by Participation. I am convinced they need Repentance, and such Repentance too as may be answerable



ble to their bigness, and heynousness, and diffusedness; even Anniversary days of National Humiliation, universal Fasts, publick solemn Prayers, Tears, cryes to God for Pardon.

I am convinced the few Survivors of those Bishops and other Priests, who by their false Doctrine, and rash Example lead the Nation after them to sin, nay, who by their Sacrilegious use of *St. Peter's* Keys compelled the People to run headlong with them into such horrible sins as those of Sedition, and Treason, and Rebellion, and breach of publick Faith, and two Peaces, and the Blood of so many thousand Innocents spilt, and the Ruine of so many other Myriads wrought, must of necessity be, ought long since to have begun this indeed penitential, yet only healing work of the Nation; but now much more. I am convinced they are the men who above all mortals should without farther delay, or procrastination teach that Nation the true Doctrine, as they have the false; give the good example of hearty Repentance, as they have the bad of armed Violence; and be themselves the greatest Penitents before all the People, as they were the greatest Offenders amongst them, and greatest misleaders of them. And therefore I am also convinced your nearest Relative in this World, the Venerable Bishop of *Fernes* is he that ought to appear the very first and chiefest in this peni-

tential Scene. Oh! 'tis he that in the Head of all the Sacerdotal Order, the Ministers of God, and they in Sackcloth and Ashes, Weeping between the Porch and the Altar, should for himself and them, and all the rest of his Catholick Nation confess to God, as the Prophets *Daniel*, and *Jeremiah* in *Baruch* did of old, for themselves, and their People the ancient *Jews*. It is he should cry to God, *Peccavimus, iniquitatem fecimus Domine in omnem Justitiam tuam; impiè egimus, & recessimus à mandatis tuis ac judiciis. Propter peccata enim nostra & Iniquitates Patrum nostrorum, Hierusalem, & populus tuus in opprobrium sunt omnibus per circuitum.*

It is he that then should pray and yell to God for Mercy to his People, and that with shows of tears, and a broken heart should move him saying, *Et nunc Domine avertatur obsecro ira tua & furor tuus à civitate tua Hierusalem & monte Sancto tuo. Ne irascaris in finem Deus, neque repellas in finem Domine; sed de domo Sancta tua respice nos.*

*Aperi Domine oculos tuos & Vide, quia non mortui qui sunt in Inferno, quorum Spiritus acceptus est à Visceribus suis dabunt honorem & justificationem tibi; sed anima quæ tristis est super magnitudine mali, & incedit curva & infirma, & oculi deficientes, & anima esuriens dat gloriam & justitiam tibi Domino. Propter te ipsum inclina aurem tuam & exaudi nos;*

*Placare*

*Placare Domine, nè moreris Deus meus ; sed educ nos propter te metipsum : Et da nobis invenire gratiam ante oculos eorum qui nos abduxerunt : Ut sciat omnis terra quia tu es Dominus Deus noster, & quia nomen tuum invocatum est super Israel, & super genus ipsius.*

And 'tis he that after such confession and such prayer should effectually perswade the Nation to a continuance of the like penitential course on days of publick Humiliation, once every year at least, acknowledging, not only their other sins in general, but in a special manner all the Iniquity of the Rebellion, and all the perfidious Wickedness of breaking the two Peaces, or either of them, and crying to Heaven for Pardon, till they be heard at last.

O Friend ! how much better would it become that Venerable man to be at home in *Ireland* such a great Exemplar of happy Repentance to his Nation, such an effectual perswader of them, and such a moving Petitioner for them to God, than to be in *Flanders* the Author of *Iphigenia*, or an Hermit in the Mountains of *Galiccia* in *Spain* ! You know he is the only Survivor now of all those Excommunicating Peace-breakers that were Bishops, and if not the only, at least their chief Defender of the Cause. And for my life I cannot but see two things more concerning him. 1. That by his concurrence in and defence of that Cause, he has espoused

espoused the necessary sins of all Rebellions whatsoever past, or future. 2. That by no Retirement into any corner of the World, no solitude, no private prayers and tears will he ever be able to make up his accounts with God, until he first resolve to give publick satisfaction to the World. He has in a very high degree injured his Church and his Country, yea, as far as lay in him, all Churches and Countrys on Earth. He hath imbued them with dangerous Errors, recommended to them wicked immoralities, confirmed them in both by Precepts and Examples of Catholick Bishops, especially of one of them above all the rest. And his followers, and as many of his Readers as do believe him, he has Robb'd of the Patience of Christians and Duty of Subjects, and Justice of Contracts, and Religion of Oaths, and Love of their Neighbours, and all that is Faith, or Trust, or Peace, or even humanity amongst the Children of Men.

Ah Sir! if this be so, what must we think of it? For my part I am troubled in mind on this occasion. The raving of *Augustus* for the loss of his Legions in *Germany* through the ill Conduct of their Captain General *Varus*, which I read some forty years since in *Suetonius*, comes now as fresh as ever to my Remembrance. I mean his calling so often in his broken sleeps and dead silence of  
the



the night, and in these very words to that unfortunate man; *Quintili Varo Legionēs redde.* And then immediately succeed a number of other Shapes which represent unto me the fatal hour, and a greater Lord than *Augustus*, even the *Bishop of our Souls*, calling the *Bishop of Ferns* to a more strict account of higher matters, and calling to him in a voice of Thunder, *Fernensis præsul Virtutes redde.*

However, 'tis now manifest enough that you and I have differed hitherto as far as from *East* to *West* about so many great particulars, whether they must be repented of as sins, or unrepented burn. And I dare confidently say no creature has ever yet, nor ever shall be condemned by that Righteous Judge for practising what the sentiments I hold in these matters do prescribe; that is, for choosing to suffer Christianly all the evils of this World, even death it self, from the power of the Prince, rather than lift up an Armed hand against his Person, Authority, or Laws, or command others to do it. Nor do I less confidently affirm that the contrary practice, derived from your sentiments, is at best not only extremely unsafe, and perilous, and placing its embracers on the most slippery brink of the most fearful precipice in nature; but such as, according to that power of God, which School-men call *Ordinary*,

nary, must before death be wash'd off with true Repentance, or after death burn in unconsuming Fire. And you know true Repentance requires full Reparation to ones power.

But if you will peradventure say, That invincible ignorance, and a general Repentance may at the very worst be supposed in the case of that Venerable Prelate and your own: why not also, I say, in the Duke's and mine, whatever you suppose it to be? I am sure they will save where they really are: and that they are so in the case of thousands, even of different, not only Opinions, but Communions. And if this be all your meaning by that known Sentence, which concludes your Letter, and occasion'd these Reflections, we are perfectly agreed for so much.

Would to God we were as well agreed for all the rest! Would you, would *Ferns* himself that most Illustrious and Reverend Prelate in whom you have so great an interest, had but so much as my apprehensions now at this very time! They would assuredly convince you both, as they have me above six and twenty years ago, and all along ever since, That however it may be with us in the other Life, yet in this the Vengeance of God will never cease, never be removed from that unfortunate Country of ours, *i. e.* from  
pursuing

purſuing the Roman Catholick Natives thereof, till the Surviving Authors of its National ſins be exemplary Authors of its National Repentance; or at leaſt until, after their death, Affliction makes their Succeſſors (when better principled than now) perform this duty for them.

Happy apprehenſions in ſuch caſe, *i.e.* in caſe of ſeizing ſo your Souls as they have mine. I ſhould then at laſt behold my long deſires accompliſhed. And you, and I, and all the Nation ſhould ſee at laſt the healing Balm applied. And your Illuſtrious friend, that Venerable *Ferns*, would be himſelf the firſt, and only great applyer of it under God.

O that he may live till then! and we with our own eyes behold the Salvation of our Country ſo begun! when that Reverend man, ſo like a great Pontiff and High Prieſt indeed of the Higheſt God, ſhall write peculiar commands to his own Dioceſs of *Ferns*, and circular Letters to all other Jurifdictions of *Ireland* to prepare them for ſo Bleſſed a Work. When he ſhall repreſent unto them what the heavy hand of God for ſo many years upon the Nation, has made himſelf at laſt thoroughly underſtand; *Viz.* the National Sins, and the National Repentance due for them ſtill. When he ſhall therefore ſpeak to their hearts, exhorting them effectually in theſe or other like pathetic

tical words. Blow ye a Trumpet  
 Joel. in Zion, Sanctifie a Fast, call a  
 Solemn Assembly, gather the People, Sanctifie the Congregation, Assemble the Elders: gather the Children, and those that suck the Breasts. Let the Bridegroom go forth of his Chamber, and the Bride out of her Closet. Let the Priests, the Ministers of God, weep between the Porch and the Altar, and let them say spare O Lord, spare thy People, and give not thy Heritage to Reproach for ever. Lord we acknowledge the multitudes of our own and our Fathers provoking sins. Lord, the Heinousness of the Rebellion, and the perfidious breach of either of the two Peaces, and the Sacrilege of our Prelates in abusing their keys, and the guilt of so much Blood, and such great destruction We do acknowledge, we do confess with sorrow for them and detestation of them from the very bottom of our Souls. Therefore, Lord have mercy on us, have mercy on all thy People, and according to the multitude of thy mercies, blot their iniquities out of thy Remembrance. Command thy exterminating Angel to sheath up his Sword and punish no more in us either our own former sins, or those of our departed Fathers. For thou desirest not the death of sinners, but their Conversion from sin that they may live. And thou wouldst not have it to be any more a Proverb in Israel, The Fathers have eaten sour Grapes and the Childrens teeth are set on edge.



edge. *Let us then live O Lord and enjoy the sight of thy Countenance from this day forward, since we are wholly turned to thee. Let it be so, O God of Mercies, Let it be so.*

When besides, and after, not only these, but all other necessary Precepts for Humiliation he shall encourage them with the faithful promises of God to all sorts of hearty Penitents. When he shall assure them in the very words of God in *Isaiab*, that *though their sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as Snow, and though they be red like Crimson they shall be as white as Wool.* And when he shall farther yet assure them in the Language of *Joel*, That then *the Lord will be jealous of their Land, and pity its people, and do great things to deliver them.*

I have done with this Subject of wishes, to which your conditional Sentence gave the Rise. And now there remains but little when I have told you,

1. That although you charge me so positively, in two several of your Letters with maintaining the War of *Ireland* a Rebellion, and having delivered my Judgment of it as such; yet, whatever I have elsewhere in any of my Books, or other Writings discoursed, affirmed, or proved of the Wars of Subjects in general, or supposed or admitted of this of *Ireland* in particular, I have never (to my best remembrance) before now made it  
my

my Work either to prove it such, or directly, positively, and particularly to affirm it to be or to have been such. Nor had I now done it, had not you provoked, and even forced me to it, in my own just defence.

2. That forasmuch as I have before in this Letter remitted you to my little Book entitled, *The more ample Account*; if you think I have not there page 94. with sufficient clearness answered the Objection derived from the Fact of the *Macchabees*, which seems to prove the Rebellion of Subjects Lawful in point of Conscience, at least where the final cause of it is the defence of true Religion: you may be pleased to see in my larger Folio Book of the *Remonstrance Part. 1. pag. 79, 80, &c.* the same Objection clearly, fully and convincingly answered even out of *Josephus Flavins* himself that famous Historian of the *Jews*.

3. That my thoughts delivered here not only of what I conceive to be those National sins of *Ireland*, which brought upon her such heavy Plagues these six or seven and twenty years at least, but of the National means to divert them are no new thoughts, nor flashy fancies. I have by me still the unfinished rough draught of a serious Letter intended by me some ten or twelve years since to the fore-said Bishop of *Ferns*, intreating his Lordships best regard of the very same things, as the things indeed which most of any whatsoever concerned

concerned the whole Nation, and him particularly in a more eminent degree than others. But the stop of his journey home, when he came to *St. Sebastian* Anno 1666. was the cause I would not send it, nor indeed finish it to this present day.

4. That Father *Harold* writes to me he hath sent you by an express those two Books of the two learned men that writ against my Defence of *Thomas of Canterbury*, viz. the famous Doctor *Stillingfleet*, and the Anonymous (but no less ingenious than ingenuous) writer of the *Considerations*, &c. This last writes also and not ill against some things said in the *Controversial Letters*; though what he writes may, for a great part of it, be answered; as for some it is already in the 13 and 14th of the *Controversials*; but for some other parts cannot well in my Judgment. For I must confess to you I hold it a Sin against the Holy Ghost *Impugnare agnitam Veritatem*. though written against ones self. What Doctor *Stillingfleet* says against me, you will find at large in the fifth and last Chapter of that last Book of his against *S. C.* or *Serenus Cressy*, which I sent you. And because you have by this time (I suppose) read those two Books, you would oblige me by letting me know your judgment of them, and of their Authors too, I mean so far as you can judge of these by those.

F

5. That

5. That some months since I have sent the said Father two other not Books but Scurrilous and ignorant ( though withal malicious ) Pamphlets, written against me by other kind of Writers, and for a very different end from that the two former had. And yet these latter too ( however both of them Anonymous in the Print against me ) are Protestants and Gentlemen, the one a Counselor of *Gray's Inn*, the other a Colonel of good Estate in the Country, and lastly Candidate for a Membership in the House of Commons, but in the Committee of Elections worsted by his Competitor and put by. These also notwithstanding they be but railing Libels, I desired Father *Harold* to send you as soon as himself had read them.

6. That many things in the *Iphigenia* pleased me; though not the Authors justifying our War. That, as you desire, I will examine by the Catalogue you sent me whatever comes forth in Print under your name. That I am heartily sorry your Latin piece intituled *Neque præscripsit, &c.* is miscarried. That I never see *Lucubrationes Episcopi Fernensis in Hispania.* That I heartily wish to see not only his *XXX. sheets of Reasons for not subscribing the Remonstrance*, and his *Synopsis justifying the War*, but his *Religion in England, &c.* with the annexed *due Obedience of Catholicks, &c.* That some three or four days



days since, and not before, I have received *The doleful Fall of Andrew Sall*, and that I had no leisure to read any part of this Book, but shall I hope ere long, and then give you my judgment of it.

You see by this time, *i. e.* by so long a Discourse and so many particulars too, as well in the beginning as ending of this Answer, I have taken some pains to obey your Commands to me in the Postscript of your last, where you have these Words, *I shall expect a punctual Answer to the Contents of this long Letter.*

The rest, if either unexpected, or extravagant, is however short. *Andrew Sall* himself that very Gentleman whose dolefull Fall you sent me, is come hither last week, and much carested by several persons of Quality, amongst whom is the Earl of *Orrery*. One of the greatest of them says his Talent is not Preaching. He is nevertheless in good repute amongst all the Church of England-men. And by some of those judicious persons who have already seen, and gone through that Book against him (I mean the *doleful Fall*, &c.) I am told it will get him more repute still, not only because (as they say) it answers not the Arguments he makes use of in his Recantation-Sermon to justify his departure from the Church of *Rome*, but gives a good character of him, and is known

besides to have a Catholick Bishop for its Author. Yet I am for the Authors fair, and just, and conscientious carriage herein, *i.e.* in giving that character of him which he knew to be right: wishing heartily there had never been any other method seen amongst Roman-Catholicks, or in their Writings, especially against any such learned, judicious, sober, ancient men, who had quitted their Communion. For that such persons did out of meer inward Conscience depart and declare themselves of another Church, we ought to presume until we have some evidence or sufficient proofs to the Contrary. And we know that our inward Conscience (whether in it self erroneous or not, according to the objective verity, or falsity of things in themselves) must be the immediate Rule of all our actions, and consequently of our whole Life and Faith, and Religion, and Profession thereof. *Dictamen practicum conscientie propriae est Regula proxima Humanorum Actuum*, say the Divines; and well, if right reason be our guide. Nay, if St. Paul guide us, we must know that to remain contrary to ones inward (tho Erroneous) Conscience, in the Communion of the truest Church on Earth (whatever this truest Church be according to the inerrable knowledge of God himself) must be a continual sin. For so by plain, evident consequence that great Apostle writes to the  
Roman

Roman Church it self, *Rom. 14. 23*

\* if our holy Fathers and Interpreters understand the word *Fide* rightly as placed in that three and twen-

\* *Omne autem quod non est ex fide, peccatum est.*

tieth verse; or if, laying their authority aside, we do our selves but examine that whole fourteenth Chapter, compare the several Texts or Verses together, and make any tolerable sense of them joyntly taken. All which being true, it were worth the while to consider, what is it hurries on our Catholick Writers generally to such exorbitant Passions and barbarous Language (besides many downright Lyes and meer Calumnies often) against all those that leave our Church?

But this is not my business at present. And for other particulars of *Dr. Sall* (for so your friend is now stiled, having received that degree in the University of *Dublin*) I may give you a more exact account in my next, as being resolved (with God's Grace) to see and confer with him my self ere long. In the mean time you will (I hope) pardon as well the freedom as prolixity of this Answer. Your self, if I understand you right, has encouraged both. But, let this or that be as you will, I am sure that by the charity and equality of your prayer (in the very last words of your Letter) as well for the Duke of *Or-*

*mond* and me as your self, you have obliged us both to say Amen, and me particularly to continue always notwithstanding my difference of Judgment,

London, Aug. 1.  
1675.

Sir,

*Your truly*

*devoted Servant*

PETER WALSH.

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L E T. III.



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# LETTER III.

BEING

## *The second to the Bishop of Ferns.*

SIR,

**I** Is my fortune always, though much against my inclination, to be diverted from answering your Letters so soon as you might in reason and civility expect I should. And yet your last (of the 15th of *October*) with the two papers enclosed therein, I shewed to His Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, within a few days after I had received them. I delay'd not that Office, as I have this signification of it: for 'tis now somewhat more than four months since I had his answer to be returned to you. Therefore I do both earnestly and humbly beg your pardon for this long delay, promising that I will hereafter be more observant of timely Returns. Though to excuse my fault this time, at least in some degree to lessen it, I can truly plead the constant

stant expectation I was in to hear once more from you, before you would expect this account from me, which I am now to give.

As soon as I had read to His *Grace* your said Letter and Papers, he was pleased, without demurring on the matter, to say, That he verily believed you, and all the particulars of your Relation of that Attempt, which was to be made upon him, had not you hindred it. That he could wish you had let him know so much while he had some power to requite it by kindness to such Relatives as you were most concerned for. That neither Mr. *Belting*, nor any other, signified a word of it to him, nor did he ever hear a syllable of it before I read this last Letter of yours unto him. That he does acknowledge the greatness of the obligation laid upon him by your saving his life in that occasion; tho you did therein but your duty, and discharged but the part of a Christian Bishop; nay though you did also thereby save your own Country in a high degree; for certainly (says he) how bad soever their condition has been since, and be at present, it had been still much worse, had that intended Assassination happened. That however he be not reconciled to your other principles, he must and will have a kindness for your person, since you have had so much for his. That for what concerns your hindring

dring or dissuading that other Zealot (how learned soever) from writing against him, he thinks you have done thereby all the kindness to that Zealous man himself, by preventing his being author of Lyes; though perhaps your intention was to oblige the Duke of *Ormond*; for which he thanks you.

This is the substance (I am sure) of what his Grace answered me, when I read your papers to him, and what, more lately, he bid me write to you, when I desired the second time to know what I should write, as from him, in answer to your last. But what that kindness will be which he intends for your person, I know not yet. You may be sure that if it lie in my power either of suggestion or perswasion, I will omit no good opportunity to make it considerable. I am undoubtedly sure my self, that I have a most hearty desire to do so.

I did not expect so great a complement from you in approbation, nor without complement any approbation at all of that long Letter \* I sent you last in exchange for yours; but rather feared that my freedom in it would utterly have bereaved me of your further correspondence. But I see you are more generous than (at

\* This was my Letter which you see printed before, written by me to *Ferns* on occasion of his desiring my judgment of his *Iphigenia*, &c.

least,

least, upon any such occasion) to break with a man, who notwithstanding all his freedom, and all his melancholy, professes himself always truly devoted to you, and heartily wishes it were in his power to convince you, by real demonstrations, that he is so.

Your Reflections upon any, or as many, parts as you please of that same Answer of mine, I shall be glad to receive, provided they give you no trouble to write or make them. By those several *Queries* returned therein to your one *Quere*, I was far from intending to strike you into amazement. The utmost I meant by them was to let you understand that I have a better opinion of the Church of *England* than you seem to have, particularly, as to Her Doctrine of Repentance, Ministry of Reconciliation, Power of Holy Orders, and Christian Preaching of good Life. But so I have a much greater Veneration for the *Greek* Churches in general than *Bellarmin* had; if his own Works tell us truly what his inward sentiments were. And therefore I hope that, upon due Reflection, you will not think those few *Queries* of mine should either strike you into amazement (as you say they did) or so much as give you the least cause to fear. But concerning them to explain my self a little more fully, since you desire I should; be pleased to observe two things, although  
but



but such things as are only a part of my more general and remote grounds. The first is, that I hold it an obligation of conscience on me, neither on the one side to maintain (for believe I cannot if I would never so fain) any Principles or Practices, which, according to the inward conviction of my own proper Soul, appear to me erroneous and wicked; nor on the other hand to condemn any of those, either Doctrines, or Rites, or Powers which, after full examination of them, and of all objections brought againgst them, do nevertheless, to my understanding, appear still very Orthodox, Lawful, Firm. The second is, that I am far enough from approving that known Rule in our Canon Law, *Qui dubitat de fide infidelis est*, if taken in the common Doleful Fall. p. 233. sence in which our Canonists and Theologians make use of it. We know they extend it to the case of doubting of any one Tenet whatsoever practical or speculative defined in the *Roman Church*, let the cause of such doubting appear to be never so great. Which sence and Doctrin of theirs, I (for my part) hold to be very false, and very unreasonable, and very improbable too, as to any intrinsic probability in it. Nor can I imagine how such men could, in point of reason, go about to unhinge either a Christian Heretic, or an Anti-christian Jew,

or

or Mahometan, or even a Heathen Idolater, from the principles of the false Religion in which any of them were educated. Amongst all Religions in the World there are people as firmly adhering to the principles of each Religion as any Roman Catholick doth to his own, for ought we know to the contrary. And if such firm adherers will return to a *Roman Missionary* but his own fore said Rule, when first he attacks them, where will he be then? But if this be not to explain my self or my Queries sufficiently, at least, so far as to free you from amazement, and drive away your fear; you shall have farther satisfaction when I know wherein you desire it. I hope you need not any.

Of your Book against Doctor *Sall*, ( your friend in former times, and no enemy to you at present, though he has left the Communion of our Church ) I cannot but acknowledge That I think verily it argues a great zeal in you for the Truth, and great Charity for the Soul of that Gentleman. That the method you take, and Spirit you express in it are the most proper and powerful can be to perswade the people of *Ireland* to an abhorrency of his example. And therefore I do not wonder at Mr. *Stapleton's* Conversion by the Reading of it. Though I must tell you withal, there are some ( and those not a few ) passages in that Book, which  
many

many learned men, of our own Communion will not allow.

I add that, even to my self, it appears not a little strange, That upon the sole account of Mr. *Sall's* having embraced the Communion of the Church of *England*, you represent him as gone over to the *Quakers*, and not to them only, but to all other both ancient and modern Sects of *Hereticks*. Certainly you are not ignorant that the Church of *England* has, from the very beginning of Her Reformation, under Queen *Elizabeth*, received the first four General Councils, even by Act of Parliament, and withal incorporated into her Liturgy, the three ancient Catholick Creeds, namely the *Apostolical*, *Nicene*, and *Athanasian*. Nor have you forgotten that, besides Her Canons of Discipline, She has her XXXIX. Articles of Religion, whereof at least many are without contradiction, Orthodox, and some the very chief (if not only) Fundamentals of all Orthodoxy. Then Reason tells you that she condemns all and every of those impious Sects, whether old or new, which are either explicitly or implicitly condemned by any Articles, Canons, Creeds, or Councils owned by her. Behold the cause wherefore I think your Representation of that Church or Communion into which Mr. *Sall* is now gone very strange indeed, *i. e.* as unlike as ever picture was drawn.

drawn. 'Tis true I cannot exactly tell, nor will take the pains to enumerate, how many those impious Sects are that are so condemned by the Church of *England*. But I dare affirm they are so many as will leave but very few ( if any ) remaining after them in your largest Catalogues of Hereticks truly such. And I can assure you She is not so profuse of her Communion as to bestow it on any whom She knows to be of them. She requires of all such ( if not Abjuration ) at least Retraction and Repentance. And She requires even from all Her own Native Sons, much more from Profelites that are or would be of the Clergy, or graduated in either of Her Universities, a Subscription to all her Articles and Canons and Liturgy, and ( by consequence ) to all the three Creeds and four Councils above-mentioned. So as without it She admits none to any Sacerdotal Order or Office, or to any Ministry of Reconciliation either by the Word or by the Sacraments, or to any Academial Degree whatsoever. All which, I think, may sufficiently evince, that instead of Representing truly (as you should

in answer to your Fifth

\* Doleful Fall c. Quere \* ) that Communion or Society into which your Friend is now gone, you have strangely misrepresented it.

\* Doleful Fall c.  
xvi. p. 228.



Nor can your *Simile* of the *Ark* be to your purpose, unless peradventure you can ruin first all the common Doctrines of our own Schools that concern this matter. See our own Classical Authors where they teach us the immediate Rule of Humane Actions; the Nature and Effects, as well of Invincible adherence to Error, as of Invincible Ignorance of Truth; how either may excuse both Incredulity and Heresie from sin; how the former may sometimes possess even the most Learned and most Holy, as well National Churches as single Persons; the distinction between Material and Formal Hereticks; the consistency of holding internal Communion with the Catholick Church, and not holding any External Communion with Her, but being sententially and effectually, and justly too sometimes excluded from it. When you can overthrow all the Assertions, and Consequences manifestly derivable from the assertions of our own Schools upon these Heads, then, and not before, you may with reason make use of that *Simile* of *Noah's Ark* to your purpose.

The School terms are, *Ignorantia prave Dispositionis*, and *Ignorantia pura Negationis*.

How difficult, or rather how unsuccessful and insuperable this Task must be to any undertaker (be his Learning and Zeal never so great) you may guess by a scantlet of it,  
*tanquam*

*tanquam ex ungue Leonem.* He must prove that we justly act against the strongest convictions and most immediate practical dictates of our own conscience. That we sin to death where we have neither knowledg of any Law forbidding our action, nor thoughts of any evil in it, nor have liberty of Will to refrain it, or do otherwise. That invincible ignorance of the Positive (and not only of the Natural) Laws of God can expect no mercy from God. That consequently even the most perfect and holy Souls fallen, however unavoidably or invincibly, into the least Humane Error concerning any matter of Divine belief, or Christian Religion are at the same time fallen from all saving Faith, and all sanctifying Grace, and wholly destituted of all other (if yet they be other) infused Theological habits of Hope and Love of God. And the distinction of Heresie into Material and Formal is vain. And the supposition of Internal Communion with the Saints to remain in some cases notwithstanding all external Communion with the Church be utterly quitted or denied and lost, is false. And those *African* and *Cappadocian* Churches in the days of Pope *Stephen*, and those *Asiatics* in the time of Pope *Victor* were truly and simply (*i. e.* both materially and formally) Heretical. And their chief Leaders, *viz.* the holy *Cyprian*, the great *Fir-  
milian*

lian, and the more ancient *Policrates*, however of glorious memory with us, were by themselves no less utterly cut off from all Interior Communion with the invisible Church, than it was mightily endeavoured by *Stephen* and *Victor* to cut them off from all Exterior with the Visible. And so these great Fathers of the Christian World, in their generation, above fourteen years since, were (nevertheless) themselves, till death, but false Christians and meer Infidels in effect.

All these positions and many more as difficult, partly antecedent and partly consequent to them, when you shall have demonstrated against our own Schools, then, and not before, apply the *Ark*. Certainly it is beyond a Paradox, because in effect a pure contradiction, That any should be within the Invisible Church, and at the same time be, or dye, or live, or flye out of the *Mystical Ark*. For this *Ark* of *Christ* (typified by *Noah's*) and that Church of Saints, and the Internal Communion of the one, and Spiritual Salvation of the other, are the very same things under different names.

And yet observe that, all this while, I dispute not your latent supposition, namely, That the Church of *Rome* makes up the whole of that *Mystical Ark*, or (which is the same thing) the whole of that one Holy, Catholick and Apostolic Church, into which we

G were

were Baptized, and which we believe. To dispute a supposition which, whether granted as true, or denyed as false, would be equally excentric to my purpose, were needlessly to create both you and my self new trouble. What I would be at is quite another thing.

I would convince of sin your application of the *Ark* to the Church of *England*; whatever, in the mean time, we suppose the Church of *Rome* to be. And surely to do this is no hard matter now. For if the last practical dictate of our own proper Conscience be the immediate Rule of our Actions, and to act against that be no less than to sin against God: if Invincible prepossession of Soul, as well by whatsoever Errors in matters of Faith, as by pure ignorance of such matters, may excuse from sin, and expect mercy at last: if not only a few single persons, and not only the illiterate and vitious, but the most learned holy men, and, together with them, very great and National and conspicuous and Catholic Churches, remaining still within the *Mystical Ark*, have been, *de facto*, under such invincible prepossession by strong errors, and have contended for them, to death, against other Churches no less numerous and Catholick that opposed them: and consequently if the distinction of Heresie or Hereticks into Material and Formal be not without ground; and the supposition of interior



terior Communion with the invisible Church  
 to remain in some contingencies after all  
 Exterior with the Visible is utterly lost, be  
 not without Reason: or if the known Do-  
 ctrines both of our own Schools and Church  
 upon these heads cannot be proved false, nor  
 the contrary positions true; and withal, if  
 God alone be the searcher of hearts, and the  
 discerner of thoughts, and the Seer of Invin-  
 cibility, whether of Error or Ignorance in  
 the Soul, and the Separator of erring Catho-  
 licks from Hereticks truly such, as of Sheep  
 from Goats, and the Surveyor of them, who,  
 in the language of the Apostle are *Judei in*  
*abscondito* Secret Communicants at the Invi-  
 sible Table of Saints in the Militant Church,  
 and the knower of those whom he has pre-  
 destinated to live for ever in the Triumphant:  
 then certainly your application of the *Ark* to  
 the Church of *England* is convinced of  
 sin.

It is, if ever yet there was, a Violation and a  
 violation too in the highest nature imaginable  
 of that Commandment of our Lord, *Matth. 7.*  
*Nolite Judicare.* It is, in a matter of the  
 greatest importance conceivable, the most  
 temerarious, peremptory, cruel judgment  
 that could be given by mortal man of other  
 mortals. It excludes for ever, and as well  
*secundum presentem* as *secundum futuram ju-*  
*stitiam*, all the Church of *England* univer-  
 sally

sally both Priests and People out of the *Mystical Ark* of Christ. And so, without any remorse or regret, I am sure without any sufficient examination of their Cause, without any allowance to the Invincible prepossession of their minds, without any regard of their particular merits or demerits, your application of the *Ark* of God utterly razeth out of the Book of Life so many Millions of Christian Souls who have, since the beginning of the Reformation, died, and shall hereafter die in the Church of *England* while She continues. It looks upon them all promiscuously as vessels of Wrath. That is, it supposes, nay, it either directly or at least indirectly and consequentially first pronounces them all every one pertinacious Hereticks, meer Reprobates, men of seared Consciences in the whole course of their life, and of unrepentant thoughts at the hour of their death, and perfectly stript of all Grace and Faith and Hope and Love and Favour of God both in Life and Death. And then, for their comfort afterwards in the other World, it condemns them all (without exception or discrimination) to a Deluge of Fire, and the Torments of Hell, and life of Devils for a long eternity. The same very just and very charitable regard it has for so many hundred Millions also of

Doleful Fall pag.  
32, and 33. and  
page 328.

of other Christians who have, these eight hundred years past, in other parts of the Earth as well dyed as lived out of the external Communion of *Rome*; and yet were none of those Sects you name, nor (for ought you or I know) of any other Sect, properly or truly such. And all this without ground in Scripture, or warrant from Tradition, or semblance of Reason, or even countenance from the Authority either of our own Church or Schools; unless we allow them to speak and act contradictorily in their own special high concerns. Your application therefore is convinc'd of sin; if the most unchristian rigor of uncharitableness and injustice to other men, whereof the rashest or most ungrounded and most forbidden judgment is capable, be not either a vertue or at least an indifferent thing.

Besides, It is yet convinced of sin upon a much higher account than that of being injurious to Man, in any degree whatsoever. It is even a Sacrilegious Usurpation of the peculiar Rights of God himself. For since you cannot deny that (besides other arguments) our own Schools and Church do abundantly warrant us, That there is no general Revelation for it, either in the written or unwritten Word: and since you pretend not to any special Revelation from Heaven, or any special priviledge above other

men, To enter into the Sanctuary of God, and to assist at the Councils of the Trinity: nothing can be more plain than that by It, *i.e.* by a Judgement so peremptory, absolute and unconditional, in such a matter as yours of the Church of *England* is, you have invaded, and not only invaded, but actually usurped an Office peculiar to the Omniscient God alone. You have placed your self Assessor with him on his Throne of Judicature, And, which yet is more transcendently bold, you have pronounced Sentence before he has opened his mouth. Than which if any attempt of a mortal man against the Immortal God of Glory can be more Sacrilegious, be your self the Judge. And whether it be not, in a very extraordinary manner, an imitation of that either mortal creature, or immortal Spirit, who said, in his elevation of pride, *Ascendam super altitudinem Nubium, sedebo in monte Testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis: in cælum conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum, similis ero Altissimo: [I will ascend above the height of the Clouds: I will sit on the Mount of the Testament, in the sides of the North. I will ascend into Heaven: I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God: I will be like the Most High.]* I shall not determine, but leave this also to your own Recollected thoughts.

Such

Such are my thoughts of that judgment of yours; such my convictions of the sinfulness of it; and such the conclusions I would be at by the premisses of this discourse, as properly derivable from them, and suitable to this place. All severe enough, I confess; but no more severe than just. They enter not into the Closets of your Conscience. They pretend not to see what is invisible in your Soul. They touch not your Interior at all. They know not what the method or measure was of your inward information, by that judgment, before you gave it in writing. They are wholly ignorant whether ever you had any Reflection upon, or any doubt or thought, or scruple or fear of any unlawfulness in it. Or, if you have had any such apprehensions, whether you were not quickly dispossess'd of them by stronger fancies, *i. e.* by arguments that appeared to you unanswerable. In a word (and if I may venture to speak in the language of the Schools) they censure not that judgment of yours subjectively taken, *i. e.* as it informs its own proper subject your understanding, but objectively, or as it is an object of yours and mine, and every other understanding that reflects upon it in your Book, and measures it by the Law and Testimony, but not by your misapprehensions or inadvertencies of either. And God forbid I should mean



otherwise. I am sure I do not. And I hope you will not think me either so unreasonable or so forgetful as to judge of your interior farther than you express it, when at the same time, and only on the same or like account I quarrel with you, and take so much pains to perswade you that God alone, and not you, nor any mortal ought to judge the interior of others.

Having so explained my self, I shall now, with the more confidence mind you of St. *Augustin's* judgment, in the main debate, concerning those in general who are not to be accounted Hereticks. For your other latent suppositions of the Church of *England's* being Heretick, because of her maintaining several Doctrines against the Roman-Catholick Faith, I take to be the only ground of your applying that *Simile* of the *Ark* to her by a Judgment so unlawful. Let us

*Epist. 162.* It is directed and subscrib'd in this form.

*Dominis Dilectissimis  
& merito prædicandis  
fratrib. Glorio, Eleusio,  
Felici Grammatico, &  
cæteris omnibus quibus  
hoc gratum est, Au-  
gustinus.*

therefore see now whether you and St. *Augustin* agree upon this ground. It is in the very beginning of his famous Epistle to all the *Donatist* Bishops, he declares his judgment in these words. *Dixit quidam Apostolus Paulus, Hereticum, hominem post unam correptionem devota,*  
*sciens*

*reticum, hominem post unam correptionem devota,*

*sciens*

*sciens quia subversus est ejusmodi, & peccat & est à semetipso damnatus. Sed qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam, atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audaciâ presumptionis suæ pepererunt, sed à seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærent autem tanta sollicitudine Veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter Hereticos deputandi.* [Indeed the Apostle Paul has said, A man that is an Heretick, after the first admonition, avoid: Knowing that he that is such a one is subverted, and sinneth, and is condemned by himself. But they who defend their opinion, how false and perverse soever, with no pertinacious animosity, especially if they broached it not by any audacious presumption of their own, but received it from their seduced Parents fallen into error, and with all cautious solicitude seek truth, being ready to be corrected when they find it, are by no means to be counted among Heretics.] So he in *Thesi*. And so you in *Hypothesi* must have this great Luminary of the *Latin Church* your great Antagonist. But I hope you will be better advised than to contend with his Authority, whatever you do against my Reason.

However, it will be no cause of despondency, if on perusal of these lines you pause a little, and enfranchise your self a while (though but for some few minutes) from the Tyranny of foreign sentiments, and then  
consult

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consult your own native thoughts, and then demand of your own inward man, whether is likeliest to proceed from God, The pious moderation of the most eminent holy Doctors of the Christian World in the Primitive Ages, or the fiery zeal of ignorant Bigots, and other interested men, in the much later and worser ages of the Church? Or which is the safest or the most becoming a man of your quality and years to follow? But if at the same time you resolve to follow the voice that shall answer you from within, there will be cause enough for me to change my uncertain hope to a more certain expectation. For besides that you know already that the present Church of *England* Professors now living have not boldly or presumptuously (or indeed any way at all) invented of themselves, but only received from their seduced Parents those Opinions which they defend against the present Church of *Rome*: you will then consider how possible it is, that the ignorance of Truth in some, and the adherence to Error in others of them may be such in very deed, as to be invincible by any industry of theirs. And that as well these as those may defend their false opinions without any pertinacious animosity: and may inquire after the Truth with all wary Sollicitude: and may with all due preparation of mind and resignation of will and fervency of desire be resolved to embrace

brace the Truth and submit their Errors to the correction of it whensoever they shall find it. You will consider also that for ought any mortal man does or can, without special Revelation, know, all this not only may be so, but is so already with many thousands and ten thousands of the Church of *England*. 1. Because what would make it to be so, and without which it would be otherwise with them, are those infused supernatural Habits of Sanctifying Grace, and Faith, and Hope, and Charity wherewith they were cloathed by the Spirit of God at the Sacred Font of Baptism. And besides they are those other Graces of Christ which in Relation to those Habitual and permanent ones are called Actual and Transient, but in reference to the will either efficacious or sufficient. Now it is, without contradiction, that all such heavenly gifts of either sort Habitual or Actual are pure inward Spiritual Forms, affecting the Soul only, and therefore invisible to any other but God. And consequently it is plain that as well their nonexistence or not being in the Souls of any Sons or Daughters of the Church of *England*, as their existence or being in either of them cannot fall under the knowledge of any creature, without special Revelation from the all-seeing Creator himself. 2. Because all those Divine both habitual and actual qualifications of the Soul are compatible

compatible with all such Errors, even in matters of Christian Faith, as are not culpable to them, or, (which is the same thing) vincible by them, or by any diligence they can use who fall into them. Otherwise what should we say is become of so many blessed Primitive Fathers of eternal memory, whereof some were Re-baptizers with *Cyprian*, others *Quartadecimans* with *Policrates*, and others *Echylasts* with *Justin* the Martyr and *Papias*? What of so many other eminent, holy, Catholick Doctors, who, in the Succession of following Ages, maintain'd other Opinions, and both lived and died in them, which are now condemned by us? And above all, what should we or can we answer to those men, who to maintain the contrary Doctrine would have us frame unto our selves their affrighting Ideas of a Cruel Tyrant God, as the proper representations of the only true God?

All this you will then consider when you resolve to obey the voice that answers you from within. And out of all you will then conclude what unavoidably follows, *viz.* That in order at least to the invisible Church, or internal Communion of Saints, and for ought you or any other mortal man does know, or can know, without special Revelation, there are many thousands, and ten thousands, if not Millions of the Church of *England*, that  
are



are not to be reputed Hereticks. And this conviction of your Soul you will openly declare *Rom. 10. 10.* as becomes your candor and conscience. *For with the heart man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made to Salvation,* as the Apostle says, though upon another Subject. And so you will at last perfectly agree with *St. Augustin* in his old Thesis, and wholly quit your own contrary new Hypothesis. Nor will you hold this change of judgment any disparagement to you. *Injusta Diffinitio salubriter dissolvenda est, nec ea reputanda est prevaricatio, sed temeritatis emendatio.* So say our Papal Canons \* out of the ancient Council of *Eliberis*. And all men say that *S. Augustin* himself appears no where so great and glorious as in his two Books of *Retractions*, which he writ last of all his Works, and in the end of his days, when he was much about your age.

\* 22. q 4. cap. Diffinitio  
ex Concil. Eliber. c. 1.

But while my fancies flatter me with expectation of your following henceforth in these matters (as you do already in many other) the Doctrine and example of that blessed Bishop of *Hippo*, be pleased to take special notice that I touch not here the external Judicatory of the Church. That is not  
my

my business in this Letter. And you might see all along I have spoken of Hereticks in relation only to the Judgment of God, and Invisible Church, and punishment in the other life. To speak of them in this sense (which is the proper sense) according to the School definition of Heresie) was it, that a confutation of your Hypothesis and Simile must have required. Besides, I considered that whom God sees not to be Hereticks, it is no Decree, no Canon, no Condemnation, no *Anathema Maranatha* pronounced against them by the Church that can make them simply or truly Hereticks. They may indeed be made *secundum quid*, or presumptively such by Her. They may, upon meer outward presumption of the inward thing, have the name of Hereticks given them by the Church, in order to their punishment in this Life, either by her Censures, or by the Civil Magistrat's Sword. And She may do so to them without any injustice, if She proceed against them fairly according to the Rules of Reason, and Her own ancient universal Canons. Though after all diligence used by her, She may be deceived in matters of Fact, and accordingly determin. For so say our own Scholasticks, and *Bellarmin* among them. And so said all mortal men before the new Heresie of the later Jesuits sprung

sprung up in the Col-  
 edge of *Clermont*, \* which  
 designedly (to maintain  
 that Bull of *Alex. VIII.*

\* In their Arinted  
 Thesis *Decem. 12.*  
 1662.

whereby the five con-  
 demned Propositions were declared to be in  
 *Augustinus Jansenii* ) attributed the very  
 same Infallibility, even in matter of Fact,  
 to the Pope, that Jesus Christ had when he  
 was on Earth. If we take *Bellarmin's* word  
 or proof, She has already been thus deceived.  
 She has, about a thousand years since, at  
 *Constantinople*, by the sixth and seventh of  
 Her *Oecumenical* Representatives, erroneously  
 condemned Pope *Honorius* for a *Monothelit*  
 Heretick, and anathematized his memory.  
 And they grounded their Sentence on clear  
 mistakes, not of matters invisible to them,  
 such as the inward qualifications of the mind  
 of *Honorius* were; but of matters properly  
 subject to their cognizance, such as the out-  
 ward professions or declarations of his Soul  
 and sentiments under his own hand-writing  
 in a Letter to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*  
 must needs have been.

Whether She may not, by the like Oecu-  
 menical Representatives err as well in defi-  
 ning Doctrines to be Heretical as in judging  
 persons to be Hereticks? Whether She has not  
 *de facto* erred so in such a Representative at  
 *Ariminum* under the Emperor *Constantius*,  
 when

when *Liberius* was Bishop of *Rome*? Whether She has not again erred so in later times either in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* under *Martin* and *Eugenius*, or in the fifth of *Lateran* under *Leo X*? For they contradicted one another in their definitions of a most important matter of Faith, or at least which both sides held to be of Faith. And (to come yet nearer home) whether She has ever yet by any of all Her Synods, truly Oecumenical, condemned those Doctrines, or any of them, which the present Church of *England* holds for Articles of Religion, and the present Church of *Rome* anathematizes? would be worth the while to consider in this place, were it of any concern to the former Discourse. But it is not. There is neither Proposition nor Supposition in my whole Discourse against your Hypothesis but abstracts as well from the Fallibility as Infallibility of the Catholick Church, either when She judges any persons, or condemns any Doctrines, and as well also from the present Church of *England's* not being yet condemned by an Oecumenical Synod truly so called, as from Her being already condemned by such a Synod. So that the only *medium* running through any part of this Discourse, and connecting all the parts of it together, is wholly unconcerned in any answer whatsoever that may be given by either side to the above Queries, or to any of them

them. Which is the reason I give you no farther trouble now by considering them more particularly.

Only by occasion of the last of them give me leave to tell you, That, to me, the general and perpetual *Plea* of the *Church of England* in defence of Her self, &c. those Doctrins of Hers, which ( tho not as Hers or under Her Name ) were condemned as Heretical by the present Church of *Rome*, (i. e. by *Leo X.* & Council of *Trent*, & *Julius*, *Paulus* and *Pius*, &c.) seems neither so ungrounded in point of *natural reason*, nor so unwarranted by the *Catholic Canons*, nor so unprecedented in the *Primitive ages of Christian Religion* among the best of Men and Churches, as not to deserve more exact Reflections and a stricter inquiry into the Heads and Merits of it, than I can perceive by your writings, has been made by you in all your life.

She pleads the incompetency of those Judges, the illegality of their Tribunals, the nullity of their Jurisdictions, at least in order to Her. Against the Pope, She alledges that being a Party, and the very chief accused Party, he nevertheless made himself Judge, and the only Sovereign unappealable Judge in his own beloved cause; as he has indeed in all other Causes whatsoever these six hundred years. That were he indifferent in the Cause, as it is manifest he was not, yet neither Divine nor Humane Right had made Him an Authoritative Judge to bind Her. That speaking precisely *de*



*Jure Divino*, all Bishops and Churches of th<sup>c</sup> Earth are co-ordinate,

\* See the Gospel, *Mat.* 18. ver. 18. and *John* 20. ver. 21, 22, 23. And the Fathers, viz. *Cyprian*, *Origen*, *Hilary*, *Gaudentius*, *Brixianus*, *Austin*, *Hierom*, *Ambrose*, *Leo*, *Theophylact*, *Euthymius*, *Bede*, *S. Thomas* in his *Cartena aurea*, *Lyra. Concil. Lemovic. apud Baron. Tn. XI. Annal. ad an. 1034. Num. XI. Concil. Colon. sub an. 1549. ubi de 6. med. Refor.* All of them on the Metaphor of the Keys, *Mat.* 16.

Read the 630. Fathers of *Calcedon*, in their twenty eighth Canon, where they expressly say the Roman See had its Priviledges from the Fathers, *quòd urbs illa imperaret*; and therefore ( and in pursuance also of a former Canon made in the second General Council ) do equal in all Priviledges (excepting only that of precedence) the See of *Constantinople* to it, since *Constantinople* is no less honoured with the Imperial Seat and Senate.

Consult *Anastas Bibliothec.* and *Paulus Diacon. Edit Vet.* where they also expressly tell it was *Phocas* the Tyrant that made the Bishop of *Rome* Oecumenical.

Power, the *Britannic* Churches in particular have, from the beginning, always been free, always exempt from the Authority of any Foreign Church or Bishop. That the only Human Constitution, though not an Ecclesiastical but a meer Civil one, seeming for the Bishop of *Rome*, namely, that *Novel* of *Valentinian III.* obtained by *Leo Magnus* to im-

power the Roman Bishop to give Law to all the Churches within that Princes part of the Roman Empire could never take effect or place in *Great Britain*. Because this Island was not then *de facto*, nor any more *de jure* subject to that Empire, but enfranchized from it by the Law of Arms and Nations: Though had that *Novel* been obeyed some few years in *Great Britain*, (as, for ought may be known from Records or History or otherwise, it was never so much as for one hour or in any one Instance;) yet 1200. years effluxed since must be a fair time to prescribe against it, or any other Human Constitution.

That whatever the encroachments of the Bishop of *Rome*, in later Ages, on the *Britannick Churches*, or the connivance of some of their Princes at those encroachments has been at several times since the *Norman Conquest*; yet the ancient Monuments of *Britain* and the \* ancient Canon of *Ephesus* ( though made by occasion only of the complaint exhibited by the *Cyprian Bishops* against the *Antiochian Patriarch* ) and the answer of the *British* Clergy to *Austin* the Monk, and the success of *Wilfrid's* appeal to *Rome* under the *Saxon* Kings, and so many severe Laws of *Provisors* and *Pramunire*

\* *Concil. Ephes. 1. Act. 7. in decreto, &c. Vid. Binium To. 2. pag. 424, 425, and 426. edit. Paris. An. 1636.*

enacted by those very Roman-Catholick Princes of the *Norman* Race that conniv'd most of any, sometimes, at the Pope, are manifest proofs that as neither *Britons* nor *Saxons*, nor last of all the *Normans* inhabiting Great *Britain* did ever allow of any of his pretences to Divine Right: so they never did suffer any of his Usurpations to prescribe the least Human Right of Superiority over them.

That to alledge the Canon of *Sardica* for Appeals to him can evince nothing against the *Britannick* Churches. 'Tis granted that the Occidental Fathers remaining at *Sardica* (after the departure of the Orientals to *Philippopolis*) did, at the instance of *Hosius*, give to the Bishop of *Rome* (so far as in them lay) the authority and privilege of receiving the Appeals of Bishops; though not those of inferior Clerks. But it is not granted that there was one *British* Bishop among those Occidentals. Or that ever that Canon was received either in *Britain* particularly, or generally among other Catholick Churches. To the contrary there are many things known Those *Sardican* Fathers, after the Rent, were no more Oecumenical or General, but only, at best, a Regional Synod. They were not, in all, an hundred, notwithstanding the vulgar Error says otherwise; and, which is more to purpose, they were so far from being regarded that they were extremely slighted

slighted by the rest of the World. As for the Canon of Appeals made by them, it was look'd upon generally as an Introduction of Tyrannical Power, and worldly Pride into the Church. The Orientals scorn'd it. The *Southern Churches*, i. e. their Representatives, even 217. *African Bishops*, whereof St. *Augustin* was one, did, by a most singular example to Posterity, both severely contest and utterly reject it. Pope *Zozimus* himself durst not father it on *Sardica*, but imposed it on *Nicea*. The truly general Synod of *Ephesus*, under *Theodosius* the Younger, which was held not long after that *Sardican*, establish'd, in effect, a Canon very contrary to it; namely, that Canon or Decree which concerns all Churches that had not been originally under any of the great Patriarchs. And the contest of the *Britons* themselves with *Austin* the Monk, which hapned two hundred years after both that Council of *Sardica*, and this other of *Ephesus*, plainly shews they were not concerned in it. And the Bishops succeeding ever since in their Sees, succeed also in their freedom from it. Though had it been at first both Canonically establish'd by a General Council truly such, and received by the *Britons*, and never after by a contrary Canon Repealed, or by a contrary custom or disuse ceased, or by any abuse forfeited; yet every man sees it extends not to the making

of New, or abolishing of Old Canons, or to the naming of Bishops, or giving of Benefices, or summoning or dissolving of Councils, or declaring who are, or who are not Heretics, or to any other cause or Privilege, but only that of receiving the Appeals of Bishops. And to that neither when the Laws of the Supream Civil power do forbid it.

That certainly therefore King *Henry VIII.* by his Laws against the Pope, did not cast out of his Dominions any Jurisdiction, Right, or Authority, warranted either by the Canons of the Catholick Church, or by any other Laws of God or Man; but only those uncanonical, and illegal, and intolerable usurpations of the Pope, under which the *Britannic* Churches did so often groan before.

And that although it be acknowledged, that to remedy those oppressing evils, to throw them out at once, and shut them out for ever; that Magnanimous King did take indeed a more effectual speedy course by one Statute only, than all his Predecessors had done by so great a variety of severe Laws; yet withal it is no less truly averr'd, that, in this great Affair, he was not byass'd nor sway'd at all, either by his own private inclination, or by any of the Reformed Religion. He was in himself, a long time both wholly and strongly averse from it. And no Reformer had power with him, but every  
one



one of them were mortally hated by him<sup>f</sup>  
 The two Universities and three Estates o<sup>f</sup>  
 Parliament, and the Reverend Houses o<sup>f</sup>  
 Convocation, and consequently all the Bi<sup>s</sup>  
 shops and Arch-Bishops of *England*, beside<sup>c</sup>  
 those other Authors and approvers of th<sup>e</sup>  
 Oath of Supremacy, were they whose judg-  
 ment, advice, authority, prayer did per-  
 swade him thoroughly at last. And they were  
 all of them Roman Catholick Professors,  
 and the Prince himself as great a Zealot of  
 that Religion, and as great an Enemy to the  
 Protestant Reformation, till he breathed his  
 last, as any of them could be. Nor surely can the  
 Contrivers and Enactors of the six bloody Ar-  
 ticles against the Reformers be thought to  
 have had either less zeal for the old Belief and  
 Rites of *Rome*, or less aversion from the New  
 of the present Church of *England*. And yet  
 they were the chief Enactors also of that o-  
 ther Law which put a final period, ever since,  
 to all Usurpations of the Pope in *England*.

Against the Council of *Trent* she objecteth,  
 That it was neither Oecumenical, nor Occi-  
 dental, nor Free.

Not Oecumenical. Because it had no Re-  
 presentatives but of one only of the five  
 Grand Patriarchships. And, in some of  
 her Sessions, very few out of that one. As  
 for example, in the very first Session, but  
 Five and Twenty Prelates; in the Second

and Third, but Three and Forty Persons; and in the Fourth (although perhaps for the consequence of it the most material of all the Sessions of that Council) not above Threescore in the whole, of all sorts. For even this so small a number of Ecclesiastics, who, at the Popes pleasure, took upon them to Represent and conclude the Militant Church of Christ wheresoever diffused throughout the four quarters of the World, were not all of them Bishops. Among them were at least Two Cardinals not so much as ordained Priests, and Three Abbots of the Congregation of *Cassina*, and the Four Generals of the Four *Mendicant* Orders. And yet neither Abbots nor Generals had Decisive Voices. So that in this very Fourth Session they were but three and fifty who had decisive Votes, *viz.* Five Cardinals, and eight and forty Bishops; the rest had only deliberative voices.

Not Occidental. 1. Because there was no admittance in it of the Bishops or Representatives of several iatire Kingdoms of the Occidental Church to vote, or deliberate, or sit as Members; but only to stand in the quality of Criminals at the Barr, and receive their Sentence from an adverse preoccupied party. And this was contrary even to the former late proceedings in the Council of *Florence* it self, under Pope *Eugenius IV.* In this *Flo-*  
*rentine*

rentine Council composed of *Greeks* and *Latins*, it is well known that notwithstanding their former great and long and fatal Schism, and that until that very meeting at *Florence* they charged one another, in their Books, with above forty Heresies, and yearly anathematized one another, yet without any previous Recantation, or Absolution of either side, or satisfaction given by either of them they sat together, on equal terms, in the same Church ( which was the *Augustinians* Church in *Florence* ) and consulted and voted and concluded equally as Members of that Council.

2. Because of the severe Bull of *Paul III.* which ( contrary to all Reason and Law and precedents also of all former Councils, and only through fear of seeing his own Court-party, in the Council, born down by a greater number of others ) commanded under pain of Suspension *ipso facto*, That no Bishop of Christendom should, on any pretence, appear by Proctor in it. For in prosecution of this tyrannical and fraudulent Bull, sent in great secrecy by him to the Legats presiding in his name at *Trent*, all the very most legal and Canonical Roman Catholick Representatives of all the Churches of *Poland*, *Germany*, and Kingdom of *Naples*, or ( which is the same thing ) all the Proctors of all their Bishops ( and, by consequence, of well-

well-nigh one entire moyety of the *Occidental* or *Latin* Church ) were by those Legats effectually excluded: and not only during the life of that Pope, and of *Julius III.* also that succeeded him, but until at least the second Renovation of that Council under *Pius IV.* were utterly denyed admittance to sit or Vote in it. And yet in four only of those ten Sessions of it, held under *Paul III.* there were three score and eight Definitions, or Canons of Faith, in so many distinct Anathematisms, agreed upon and made and published; besides their other Canons of Reformation. And none of either sort of Canons were suffered by either of those other two succeeding Popes who governed that Council, *Julius* or *Pius*, to be debated or discussed anew, or called in question at all when the Council came to be a little fuller, and the Proctors of some absent Bishops were admitted. Though the number of Bishops that defin'd them or any of them under *Paul III.* did never, at any time exceed threescore. A number less by forty than that of those Bishops of the Kingdom of *Naples* only, whose Proctors, together with all other Proctors of Bishops, were excluded, even all along from the year 1545. when the Council first began, until, at least, 1562. the last before it ended.

3. Because

3. Because in it the *Italic* Nation alone concluded all the Nations of *Europe* ( I might say of the World ) whether present or absent. And this also was both against another precedent of the *Florentin* Council, and against the true primary intrinsic end of all Councils. Besides it was diametrically opposite to the former constant course observed in those very great and famous Occidental Synods of *Constance* and *Basil*. For in them every Nation assembled by it self, and, in such their National Meetings apart, resolved according to the number of Voices. But when all the Nations met together Conciliarly, the General Decision was established, not by the Suffrages of particular men, but by the Plurality of the voices of the Nations.

Not Free. Because all the Members of it, to a Man, were sworn Vassals to the Pope, by the strictest Oath of Fidelity that could be drawn by pen. And the *Proponentibus Legatis*, and the continual directions by the Mayl, and the number of Titulars and Pensioners and even Renouncers hurried on a sudden from the Court to the Council, and the Arch-Bishop of *Otranto* with his Forty sure Seconds, and the place it self of *Trent* so much at the devotion of *Rome*, and many other both fine devices and frightening menaces of the Pope, and of his Legats presiding  
in



in the Council, might be added, were it necessary. But, after that Oath once mentioned, there needs no more be said. It is not only an Oath that has been unknown to all Christian Bishops and Churches for a thousand years from Christ downwards, nor only an Oath that is repugnant to the duty of every good Subject on Earth who is subject to any other Prince or State besides the Pope; but an Oath that tyrannizes over all freedom of Religion, Reason, Conscience; an Oath that betrays all the Christian Churches in the World to the Lordly Will of one single man. But therefore an Oath so necessary to the Pope that being desired to dispence in it with the Members of the Council, or, at least to suspend the obligation of it during the Sessions, he expressly refused to do either.

So that to a sedate considerer, at least of all other things and circumstances together with that Oath, it must appear that since the second *Ephesin* Council ( that *Latrocinium*, or *Synodus predatoria*, as it is commonly called ) wherein the good Patriarch *Flavianus* was wounded, imprisoned, and fettered, and the whole Catholic Party, through fear of the like bloody violence, forced to subscribe *Eutychianism*, there has never been held within the bounds of the *Latin* Church any Council which, on the least tolerable ground, might challenge the name of *Oecumenical*,  
that

that was so far, in all respects, from being Free, as the Council of *Trent* was. The forementioned Council of *Florence* under *Eugenius IV.* and the other at *Lions* under *Gregory X.* were the only Councils held within that time and tract which, together with the Representatives of the *Latin* Church, had true Members, Proxies, and Legats from the *Oriental* and other Patriarchical Churches of the *Greek* Communion sitting in them. And therefore also were the only Councils held, within that Time and Tract which, on the least tolerable ground, might challenge the name of *Oecumenical*. But it is manifest in History that no Representatives of the *Greek* Communion in either of these two Councils, were by the aforesaid, or any other Oath, or by any Canon which they owned, or in any other manner by any Office, or Benefice, or Title, or any kind of Church or State preferment bound to observe the dictates of the Pope. They were all of them perfectly Free, in both Councils, notwithstanding that those Popes themselves were personally present in them, *Gregory* at *Lions* and *Eugenius* at *Florence*. And though, compared to the *Latin* Representatives, they were but very few in number; yet in weight and vote, as to all the controverted points, they were equal to the whole *Latin* Church. In the Council of *Trent* we have already seen 'twas far otherwise

wife in both respects. There was neither side nor bench in it, but of men that were Bond-men to the Pope, as well by vertue of the foresaid Oath of Vassalage made unto him, as by reason of their manifold dependencies on him almost in all things, whether of this World, or of the other. Though it be confessed there were among them those that took to heart their Bondage, and laboured all they durst to free themselves and others from it. But all they durst came to nothing. For, at least as to the matter of *Reformation* (which, if it had succeeded, was the only thing that could enfranchise them, as it was indeed the only scope aimed at by those Princes and People who press'd so long and so hard for a Council) it's clear That one single vote of an hungry *Italian* Parasite, or one single suffrage of any (whether feared or zealous) *papalin* whatloever, above the precise number of the other side, weigh'd down the Scales, and silenced both sides presently, and left neither of them any more to say or to do. Such was the great freedom, and such also was the great equality of that Council of *Trent*. But surely neither the one nor the other was, by ten degrees, so little in the Synods of *Constance* and *Basil*: nor in the *Florentin*: nor in any other Synod whether *Oecumenical* or *Regional*, justly so called.

Against both Pope and *Trent* She alledges,  
That

That however they pretended to the ancient Rule *Nihil innovandum, sed quod traditum est observandum*, they held not to it. They had neither Scripture nor Tradition for them in any, but against them in many, of their Diffinitions and Anathematisms pronounced against Her Doctrin. Then She insists upon the Justice of Her Appeal. And in the first place to assert the lawfulness of appealing in such a Cause and case from the Pope alone, tho it were supposed he had otherwise had, by all the Laws of God and Man Jurisdiction over Her, She alledges. 1. The Doctrin of the Schools against *Bulla Cœne*. 2. The Authority of the Western Church in Her Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* and *Siena*, and *Pisa*, home enough to the Point. 3. Both the Civil and Canon-Law, and the Law of Reason too, and the Pope's own determination pursuant to them all; as may see at large in that Epistle of Pope *Nicolas* the first to *Michael* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, which begins *Proposueramus*, and *Gratian*

\* abbreviates, but *Binus* halt at length \*.

\* See *Tolet*. in his *Instruc. Sacerd. lib. I. cap. 20. n. 1.*

Then to assert the lawfulness of appealing from the Pope and *Trent* together, besides the grounds already laid,

\* 3. q. 5. cap. *Suspecti. Concil. Tom. 6. from pag. 415. to pag. 499.*

She alledges other,  
yet

yet no less convincing, Arguments from more ancient times; even the Doctrine and Practice of those very Ages and Men whom we all reverence. She presses hard the Old Belief or Perswasion of the Fallibility even of the most *Oecumenical* Synods truly such, whatever the subject of their Decrees be. That neither in St. *Augustin's* days, nor before, nor after, for many ages, the contrary Doctrine of their Infallibility was so much as heard of. That St. *Augustin* himself most clearly declares himself for the former, *i. e.* for the Doctrine of their Fallibility, and knows no other. And that whosoever reads him

*De Baptismo* \* against the *Donatists* must acknowledge this, and

somewhat more than this, if actual frequent Errors past of former Plenary Councils, or actual frequent amendments of such by later Councils in the time past, be more than a pure Potentiality of either. For his own express words on this Subject are these. *Ipsaque Plenaria concilia sepe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, & cognoscitur quod latebat:* and for exposition of his meaning by the word *Plenaria*, these other, *Plenariorum Conciliorum auctoritati quæ sunt ex Universo Orbe Christiano* \*.



\* Quis autem nescit Sacram Scripturam Canonica[m] tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus Episcoporum literis ita præponi ut de illa omnino dubitari & disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit quicquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit? Episcoporum autem literas quæ post confirmatum Canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur & per sermonem forte sapientio[re]m cujuscunq[ue] in ea re peritioris, & per aliorum Episcoporum gravio[re]m auctoritatem, doctiorumque prudentiam & per Concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte à veritate deviatum est? Et ipsa Concilia quæ per singulas Regiones vel provincias fiunt *Plenariorum Conciliorum auctoritati quæ fiunt ex universo Orbe Christiano sine ullis ambagibus cedere? Ipsaque Plenaria Concilia sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, & cognoscitur quod latebat, sine ullo typho sacrilegæ Superbiæ, sine ulla inflata cervice arrogantia, sine ulla contentione lividæ invidia, cum sancta humilitate, cum pace Catholica, cum Charitate Christiana?* Which may be in English rendred thus :

*who can be ignorant, that the Holy Scripture, as well the Old as the New Testament, is contained within its certain bounds? And that it is so much esteemed of above all the later Letters of Bishops, that it cannot be doubted or called in question, whether that which appears to be written therein be true or right? And that for what concerns the Letters of Bishops which have been or are written after the Canon was confirmed, it may be lawful to correct them both by the greater wisdom of every man that is more knowing in the matter, and by the more grave Authority of other Bishops, and by the Councils, if perhaps in any thing they swerve from truth? And that those very Councils, which are held in each Country or Province, do without doubt give place to the Authority of the Plenary Councils, which meet*

out of the universal Christian world? And that even of the very Plenary Councils the former are often corrected by the later; when by some experiment of things that which was shut is opened; and what was hidden is known; without any Arrogance of Sacrilegious Pride, without any contention of pale Envie, with holy Humility, with Catholic Peace, with Christian Charity? So this ancient, this great, this divine Luminary of the Church, St. Augustin Bishop of Hippo, in the place above.

She urges next the consequential early practice of Appeals. And as for Instances of it, she strongly urges, that there can be nothing more obvious in the History of the Church. For so did St. Ignatius appeal from the Photian Councils, and St. Chrysostom from the Council *ad Quercum*, &c. and St. Hilary from *Ariminum*, and Flavianus from the second *Ephesus*, and Athanasius from the Council at Tyre, and Cecilian of Carthage, and his Ordainers from that African Council held at Carthage (under Secundus Tigistanus Primat of Numidia) which deposed him and them as Traditors. And so did all the several great numbers of other Bishops, who in the respective Causes and Ages went along with those Holy men the chief Appellants now named. And so did they appeal some of them, in *forma juris Scripti*, others *via facti & rationis*, and some from Regional, others from those Oecumenical Synods themselves which hapned to be either misled by  
ignorance

ignorance, or circumvented by fraud, or forced by power. And so did they in the one or other way appeal some of them to greater, others to more indifferent Councils, and others to no Council at all, but either to the Prince or Pope, or other Bishops, and by them, or any of them, to the *Diffusive* Church her self, viz. When there was no likelihood, no moral possibility of Her meeting together in a just Representative of Her, to decide the Cause; or when they saw that that the prevailing part in such a Representative was not likely at all to prove Orthodox. Even as those other yet more early, and no less Holy Bishops, together with their Churches in the Third and Second Age, namely the *African Re-baptizers* with *Cyprian*, and the *Oriental Quartadecimans* with *Polycrates* ( of whom I have spoken before, tho upon another occasion ) seeing themselves Censured, Condemned, Excommunicated by their fellow-Bishops of *Rome*, *Stephen* and *Victor*, to whom they ow'd no subjection at all, did in the later way only, i. e. *Via facti & rationis*, by their Letters to other Bishops, and full account given of themselves and *Hope that was in them*, appeal to the Judgment of all men whatsoever, able to understand the merits of their Cause. And thereby did both undeceive other Churches, and satisfy their own conscience, and

contain their own Flocks in due Obedience ; maugre all the attempts of *Rome* to the contrary.

And so, says the Church of *England*, has She appealed *Via facti & rationis* both from the Pope and Council of *Trent* to the Diffusive Church of Christ wherever on Earth. She saw it was not fit for Her to appeal from them *Via juris Scripti*, being She acknowledged no subjection due from Her to either of them or both together. Withal, She saw there was no reason for appealing, either in the one or other way, to the Representative Catholick Church in a Council truly Oecumenical ; because the impossibility for the Members of the five great Patriarchat-ships to meet together was too apparent. And therefore She has appealed to that Judgment of *Discretion* which all and every of all the Representable Members of the diffusive Church may challenge. And She ceases not to do so still even by as many publick Declarations as there are by her Authority, Learned Books in Vindication of Her, and of every particular of Her Doctrine, set out in Print from the beginning of the *Reformation* to this present time.

And farther yet to answer all prejudices in general, whether of Heresie or Schism ; entertained against her by the less considering party of Roman-Catholics, She alleges

ledges five things more. 1. That she has neither been the Author nor is the continuer of the Schism between the Church of *Rome* and Her; but found it made by him that Excommunicated and Interdicted the Roman Catholics of *England* both Clergy and People in the Reign of *HENRY VIII.* and sees it continued ever since by the Succeeding Bishops of

\* *Rome.* 2. That as to the Charge of Heresie on Her, or any of Her Doctrines, She has ever

\* Except the little time of *Queen Marys* Reign.

Professed to stand or fall not only by the Rules of Caponical Scripture but Authority of Universal Tradition, *i. e.* such as will abide the old Test whereof *Vincentius Lyrinensis* speaks, namely, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod apud omnes.* 3. That notwithstanding her greatest submission be only to an Occumenical Synod truly so called, as to the most credible Witness and highest Authority (of any living) upon Earth in matters of Christian Faith: and notwithstanding also that her perswasion of the Fallibility of all Synods, how general soever, can be no firmer than it is: Yet her desire of Peace among the Churches of Christ has always been so greatly earnest, that seeing the present extent of the *Mahumetan* Empire, while it lasteth, must render all expectations of a



true Oecumenical Synod vain ; she has, from the beginning, offered, and does still most heartily offer to put all matters both of Heresie and Schism, and all other differences whatsoever between the Church of *Rome* and Her to the determination of a full and free Council of the *Occidental* Church alone ; and ( which must be consequential ) to acquiesce therein, so far at least as concerns the outward Court of Man, until a Plenary Council, or a *Concilium Orbis terrarum* ( as *St. Austin* calls it ) may convene. 4. That to the end neither side in such a Council ( of the *Western* Church alone ) may be able to frustrate the expectation of all good men, it has been always her desire That the Emperor of *Germany* and other Kings and States of *Europe* discharge in it by themselves present, or when absent, by their great Commissioners of *Lay* profession, the place and part of *Constantin the Great* in the *Nicen* Council, or *Theodosius* in the *Ephesin*, or *Martianus* and *Pulcheria* ( or those appointed by them who were stiled *Judices Gloriosissimi*, The most Glorious Judges ) in the Synod of *Chalcedon*. 5. That seeing the Church of *Rome* has continually declined this fair way of Tryal, and that, from the beginning of the Breach, there has been no possibility of any other rational way of coming to [an Issue : then certainly all indifferent lookers  
on

on must see where the presumption of guilt (whether of Heresie, or Schism, or both, or other) lyes. For among all judicious unconcerned men, it has ever been an allowed supposition, that in such fatal divisions of the Church, that side must be thought obnoxious, which declines Tryal before indifferent Judges.

So much in short, and much more at length even in relation to the external Court of Man, doth the present Church of *England* insist upon, as her General and Perpetual Plea in defence of her self and her Doctrines from any stain either of Heresie or Schism, or other condemnation by the Catholick Church, notwithstanding any Sentence of the present Church of *Rome*, or Bishops of that See, or Council of *Trent* to the contrary.

But I forbear enlarging farther on a Subject so forreign to the scope of all my former discourse. For be the case of *Trent* and *Rome*, and *England*, and her Doctrines, and their condemnation of her Doctrines, whatever you please in order to the External Judiciary of man or Visible Church and Censures and punishments of this life: We have seen already that in order to the Internal Judiciary of God, or invisible Church, and Communion of Saints, and rewards of the other Life, it is, for ought mortal

man does know, far otherwise than you say it is.

And this being evidently true, I hope you will pardon me, if therefore now, in the conclusion of all I demand of you, Why so peremptory in your Censure, friend? Why so positive in your judgment? and wherefore a doom so cruel to man? so injurious to God himself? Or how dare you, or how can you adjudge to eternal death so numberless a number of Souls believing on Christ, and hoping in him, whose names, for ought you know, may be written in the Book of life? O friend! is this to answer the Apostle Paul's rebuking question to you, *Tu*

Rom. 14. 4.

*quis es qui judicas alienum servum?* Is this to con-

sider his reason immedi-

ately following in these other words, *Domino suo stat, aut cadit: stabit autem: potens est enim Deus statuere illum?* Is this to regard his general admonition elsewhere to all Christians, viz. Not to judge before that time when the Lord shall come and discover the hidden things of darkness, and manifest the Counsels of hearts, and render praise to every one that deserves it? \*

\* 1 Cor. 4. 5.

Or is it so much as to revere Christ himself commanding us Not to judge, viz. rashly of others, or of any invincible

Matth. 7. 1.

gible concern of theirs? Ah Sir! these are questions which, I fear, may be dreadful to you another day, if you slight them in this day of yours. And yet, after all, I bear you witness (as the Apostle did to his Country-men the *Jews*) that *you have a zeal of God, tho* (as to the particular in debate) *not according to knowledg.*

*Rom. 10. 1.*

*Sed manum de Tabula.*

I will enlarge no further now upon this Subject. I have given what, in my opinion, is sufficient here against your *Hypothesis*. And by consequence I have declared my naked thoughts of the main of your Book against Doctor *Sall*. And by doing so I have obeyed your own particular commands to me to that purpose. If any where the freedom of my expressions be not suitable to the distance of my condition from yours, or to the deference I owe you, be pleased to remember it was your self that encouraged me to it, and pardon'd me for it before-hand. So much I know of my own mind, that though the liberty of *Hierom* the Presbyter in writing to *Austin* a Bishop, concerning the Reprehension of *Peter* the first of the Apostles by *Paul* the last and least of them (as he calls himself) might peradventure have patronized my imitation of him when I write to you in matters no less important, nor less contested

contested between us, Yet I would not have ventured on it without your own expresse leave.

By this time perhaps you may remember that in my last Letter I promised to give you of Doctor *Sall* (the occasioner of your Book and this Letter) somewhat more than I said then. Know therefore, that within some few days after, to be as good as my word, I found out his Lodging, and spent a great part of three days in his company, and put him many questions about himself and some matters of *Fact* which hapned before, and in, and since his change. And that he on the other side was (for ought I could perceive) as willing to answer, as I to demand. Among other things he told me at large the cause of your kindness to him, and great concern for him. He told me also that in case he had not left the *Roman Communion*, he had nevertheless resolved to leave the *Jesuits Order*, and this for some as well Doctrines as Practices maintained by, if not peculiar to, that *Society*. And yet withal he averred to me, that neither his own Order nor any other Order or Person of the *Roman Church* had ever offended him, or given him, by any such offence, the least occasion of quitting their Communion. That only his own Reading, and this also in our Schoolmen, was it that changed his judgment.



judgment. And that no earthly consideration, but the irresistible power of Truth, and the insupportable torture of those *ictus* and *laniatus* of conscience, which must be, at long running the unhappy Conquest of all that continue *Rebels against the Light*, made him resolve at last, and in point of external profession of Faith or Communion of Sacraments, exchange the present Church of *Rome* for the present Church of *England*. He moreover told me that he had no thoughts of answering your Book, but would assuredly *J. S's* Book, tho he knew not the Author, but thought him to be *John Sergeant* a Secular Priest of note among the *Roman-Catholic-English* Clergy. And this is all I remember now of his discourse. Soon after he departed for *Dublin*; where I suppose he has been hard at study ever since. For tho I have no correspondence with him in any manner, nor enquired nor heard of him all this while; yet I can tell you this is but the fourth day since I saw by chance a fair Manuscript come hither from him (but some days before) to be printed, in answer to three several Books written against him, the one by *J. S.* the other by *J. E.* and the third by *N. N.* I had no leisure to look into it, but only to see the Title page, whereby

I saw

*Rebelles Lumini. Job 24. 3.*

I saw ( however ) that in reference to your Book he entertained new thoughts after departing hence.

God of his infinite mercy grant, That our controversial thoughts on every side may center at last in Truth and end at last in happiness! I am sure they are in themselves at best no other than Vexations and afflictions of Spirit. But what shall we say? Or shall

we answer in the words  
*Eccles. 1. 13.* of Solomon, *This sore travel hath God given to the*

*Sons of men to be exercised therewith? Our comfort is that it will not be so for ever. We know that when he shall appear we shall be like to him, because we shall*

*1 John 3. 2.* see him as he is. And seeing him what is it that

we shall not see? *Quid est quod ibi non Vident qui videntem omnia Vident?* said Gregory the Great. If there be any thing more, we are certain not to be concerned in it. But then on the contrary, if our unfortunate checking here the light of Conscience within us shall there deprive us of seeing that light of light and super-essential Fountain of all lights,

what shall become of  
*Job 7. 20.* us? O thou keeper of Men prevent this dread-

ful If! O thou that desirest all men to be saved, and for that end, to come to the knowledge

ledge of the Truth, \* O  
 thou that rejoycest not in \* Tim. 2. 4.  
 the destruction of the li-  
 ving, but in their cor- Sap. 1. 13.  
 rection and amendment  
 ( *hic ure, hic seca, ut in*  
*eternum parcas* ) Here Augst.  
 burn, here cut, that  
 thou mayest spare for ever!

And thus, most honoured Sir, pouring  
 out my Soul to God in heartiest prayer for  
 us all on every side, and not doubting you  
 will (in a more powerful manner) say A-  
 men to it, I kiss your hands with all due  
 Respect and Veneration.

London, March, 13.  
 1676. S. N.

*Your most humble*

*and affectionate Servant*

PETER WALSH.

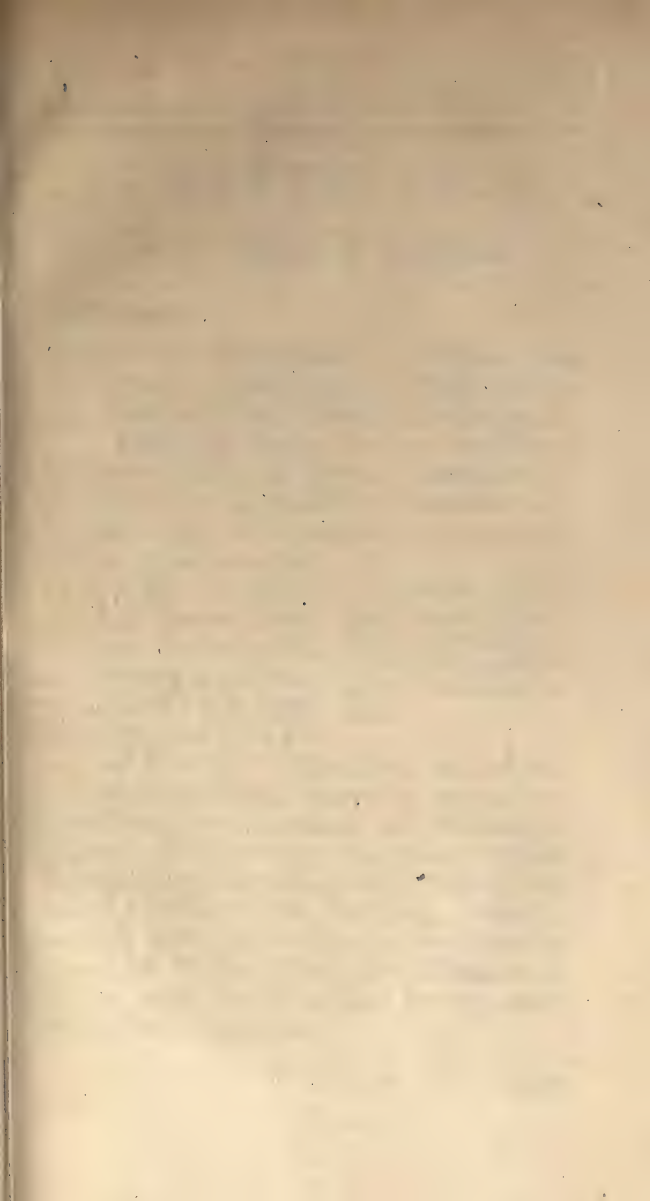
LET. IV.

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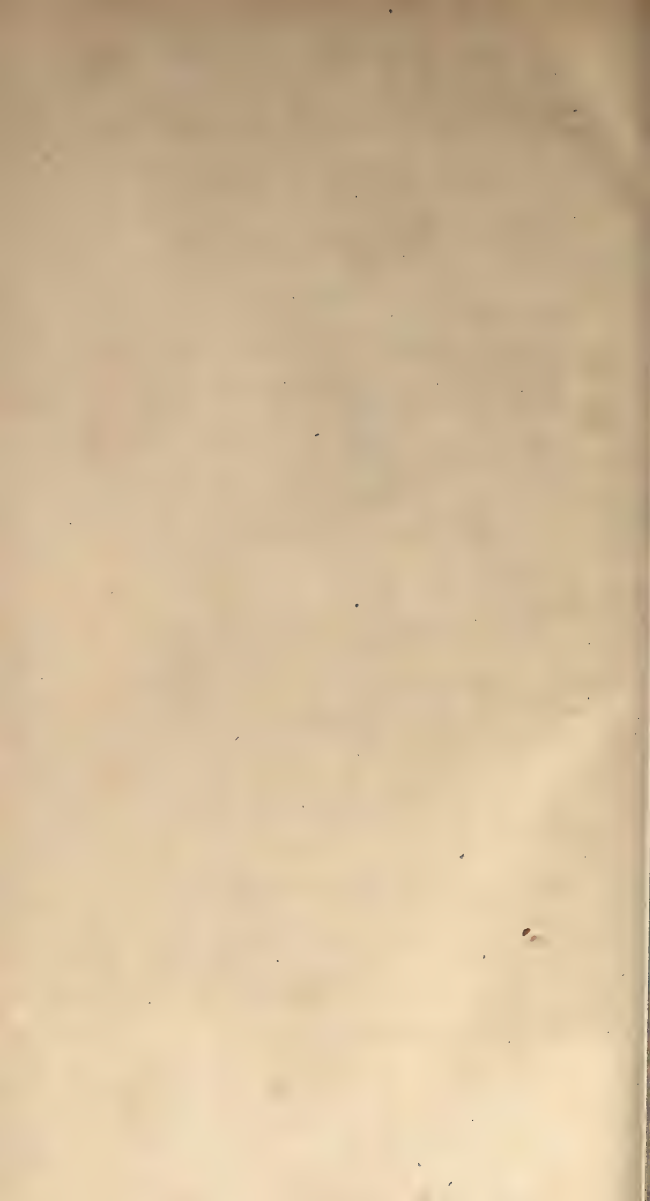
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## LETTER IV.

To the Bishop of Lincoln.

My Lord,

IT is now about some *Thirteen Years* since (the only time of my Life) I had the honour of either discoursing or seeing the Renowned Doctor *Barlow*, then *Provost* of *Queens Colledge of Oxford*, soon after Enthron'd in the Episcopal See of *Lincoln*, your Lordship. And, as the occasion of my going to *Oxford* at that time, had its Rise from the Publication of *Sandius's Book* \* here at *London*, against the Divinity of our Saviour CHRIST; so it was partly my good Lord Bishop of *Winchester's* injunctions laid on me, and partly the Fame, otherwise, of your extraordinary great Learning and Abilities, to undertake the Answering that Book (a Book so manifestly undermining the very Fundamentals of Christian Faith, Religion, Church in general) made me, in Company with the Reverend Dr. *William Lloyd*, now Bishop of *St. Asaph*, apply my self to Dr. *Barlow*, above others, to that purpose.

\* Christoph. Christophori Sandii Nucleus *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*.

*Prodiit Cosmopoli apud Libertum Pacificum. An. 1669.*

## Section I.

What Discourse we had thereof, you may perhaps remember; I am sure I do: Especially, how I represented to you, my own Thoughts of the fatal Consequences must follow the Publication of such a Work in *England*, if not timely prevented by a full and satisfactory Confutation of all the Author's Arguments. How, albeit those were pretended by him, only to overthrow the *three* grand Pleas of the Church of *Rome* for her self, *Antiquity*, *Universality*, and *Sanctity*, or the *Wonder-working Grace of Miracles*, by proving all *Three* to have belong'd sometimes in a very eminent and conspicuous Degree to the Professors of *Arrianism*; yet the Reader is wilfully blind, that, considering all he sayes in his foresaid Work, or *three* Books (for so many they are)

\* *Tractatus de Scripturis Ecclesiasticis Antea Nicenis.*

of *Ecclesiastical History Enucleated*, in Conjunction with his Preliminary\*

Treatise set before them,

of the Ecclesiastical Writers from the dayes of the Apostles, to the First *Council of Nice*, does not observe, that he Levels all directly, and in very deed, at the onely chief complex Fundamental of Christian Religion, the Belief of the Consubstantial Trinity of Persons, and the Eternal un-made, un-adopted Divinity of CHRIST. How the very *Protestant Church of England* must be not only no less undermin'd; by a Work of that nature, than the Church of *Rome*, (being they

they both equally acknowledge that complex, ineffable Myſtery to be the only great Foundation of their Common Faith) but much more in jeopardy to be Ruin'd by it; becauſe the *Roman*, where She is acknowledg'd, ſufficiently provides by ſevere Laws, and a ſtrict Execution of them, againſt the very ſight of ſuch Books. How, all the ſtreſs of *Sandius* his Arguments depending wholly on Quotations of Authors; and theſe being very numerous, and among others, an *Oxford* Greek Manuſcript of *St. John Chryſoſtom's Imperfect Work on St. Matthew's Goſpel*; none could undertake him to purpoſe without the help of ſuch a Library at hand, as that of *Oxford*, where likely, if not all, at leaſt the moſt material of 'em might be had. How, upon debate concerning ſome of his Quotations, tho' to another purpoſe, I deſir'd to ſee the *Arrian Philoſtorgius*, for what is extant of him in the *Bibliothèque of Photius*; and, on your producing this *Bibliotheca*, we found the Quotation right. How, thereupon I added, that for my own part, I verily apprehended the danger to theſe Countries, would prove in time ſo great from this Work of *Sandius*, that, were I a Judge, or Maſter of the *Greek Tongue*, I would my ſelf moſt willingly take the Pains to Examin all his Quotations, and Answer him at large, if Abler Pens would decline it; and, that my Buſineſs to *Oxford* then, was only to move the Undertaking of ſo neceſſary a Province, to ſome of the excellent Divines of that Univerſity, men qualify'd in all reſpects to undergo it. How, upon Diſcourſe thereof with

my good Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, and of the great necessity of a timely Antidote against the Poyson of such Books; especially, seeing it is lately come so much in fashion with many young Preachers, to admire the *Socinian* Wits in their Commentaries on Scripture; his Lordship recommended to me very particularly, to Address in his name to Dr. *Barlow*, and move him to that Undertaking; as the Man, for his profound Learning, great Reading, and singular Judgment, above most others qualify'd for it. And, lastly, How, when I had, to this purpose, deliver'd my Thoughts and Message, you were pleas'd, nevertheless, to wave the opening of your Mind, or saying any thing at all, whether you would Engage or no in that matter; but, however, diverted the Discourse to another Subject, and that in such a manner, as was, I must Confess, pleasing enough to me. For I cannot forget how heartily you enquir'd concerning the final Design of the *Controversial Letters*; How much you seem'd to value them, and what kind things you spake of the Writer of 'em; calling him, *The honest Author of the Controversial Letters*. Besides, I remember very well, that altho' you thought fit to conceal from me, your own Sense of the main Matter, propos'd by me, relating to *Sandius*; yet, I parted from you, as with a great Esteem of your Learning, so with no less of your good Nature, Moderation, Candor, and even good Wishes to all those of the *Controversial* Authors Principles; however, as to other matters, professing *Communion* with the Church of *Rome*. And, if I should



should moreover say, That for many Years after, I continued still unalterably the very same high Esteem of Dr. *Barlow*, in all respects, and, which must have been Consequent, not only had all the answerable good Wishes for him, that could be; but was truly glad, both for his own, and the Church of *England's* sake, when I heard of his Assumption to the Episcopal Order and Dignity of the See of *Lincoln*; it is no more than what really was. Nay, so firmly did that very great Esteem of Him possess my Thoughts, that, when the Enemy of Mankind, envying the Tranquillity of *England*, had, in the Year 1678. rais'd the most prodigious Storm that ever was known, where Swords were not actually unsheath'd to Cut one anothers Throats: And while as yet, all the Fury of this formidable Hurricane, was falling only on the miserable *Roman-Catholicks*: When there hapned, on a sudden, much talk of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, as if he had then very lately set forth an *English* Book in Print, which would, undoubtedly, both heighten and fix the Cruel Rage of the Mobile, against all *Roman-Catholicks* whatsoever, without exception of any; I was so far from believing this could be so, how Credible soever the Relaters were, that, after I had, for my Satisfaction, procur'd the Book, and perus'd the far greater part of it, yet I was unwilling to believe my own Eyes, until I had Read it all over attentively, to the very last word. For, till then I flatter'd my self still with Hopes, to meet some Reserve at least, or some Passage at last, of a more benign Construction

of the Author's meaning. But, when I saw there was not so much as one word of that kind in the whole Tract, tho' containing a Hundred Thirty Six Pages in *Quarto*, I confess to your Lordship, I did not know what to think of the Right Reverend and Illustrious Bishop of *Lincoln*: That is, whether indeed I had not my self, on a very sleight ground, formerly mistaken his Moderation and Candor: Or, whether, perhaps, it was not the Panick Fear, possessing the Generality of the Nation then, that seiz'd your Lordship also, to the very degree of putting some Violence, both on your good Nature, and great Judgment? And, whether that astonishing Amazement was not the only genuin cause that impos'd upon you so far, that you could, tho' I doubt not unreflectingly, fall into the

\* *Vide Bodini Methodum Histor.* p. 80.

very Practice of those Heathen Maxims of \* *Xenophon* and *Plato*, who encourage their Common Wealth's-Men to Dissemble, and Impose, and speak even manifestly against their own undoubted Knowledge, where ever the Safety of the Publick is advantag'd by such Arts. Nor, would I absolutely determin which was more probable, I my self deceiv'd, or your Lordship changed, whatever the Reason of your Change might have been.

What I Concluded certainly in my own Thoughts, & which on occasion I was not shy to speak to some others of the *Roman* Communion here in *England*, after (I mean) I had thoroughly Read and Weigh'd your whole foresaid Book, were Two Things only.

Sett.

## Section I I.

**T**He First was, That, how unjustly soever the Interests of some Men render'd them Sub-servient to the first Raising of so dreadful a Storm, as (in the Consequences of it, and under the disguise of hindering the Introduction, or, at least, increase of *Popery*) had well nigh Shaken the very Foundations both of the *Protestant* Church and State, aiming at no less, than the utter Subversion of *Monarchy* it self, in *England*; yet, certainly the Just God did not, without some great Quarrel of His own, to the *Roman-Catholicks* of these Dominions, suffer the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* to add new Fuel to the Fire, already Flaming but with too much violence against them: Nor, would the Merciful GOD, without some special Provocation on their side, permit a Man of such Fame, to run the Risque, even of all his own Credit, by Writing and Publishing that Book in his own Name. A Book, that, for the whole Subject of it, Impeaches all *Roman-Catholicks* universally, without distinction, without exception of any Countries, or Churches, or Parties among them any where; that Impeaches them all (I say) as by the very Essence of their Religion, Guilty of all those Traiterous Horrible Positions, which you enumerated therein; and, which I acknowledge to be such, as must render the Maintainers of them, whether in Practice or Theory, whoever they be, Obnoxious, for so much, to the just Execration of Human kind. And there-  
K 4 fore,

fore, a Book that arraigns not only thousands, nor Millions only, but many whole National Churches, States, Principalities, Kingdoms as guilty of the same Antichristian Tenents; which nevertheless, demonstrate by their constant Universal Practice they are as far estrang'd from the Belief of them as either Dr. *Barlow* or the Bishop of *Lincoln* himself can be. And yet a Book so thoroughly fraught with such heaps of seemingly pertinent Quotations, and besides, with so much Art every where contriv'd, that (other External circumstances concurring) it could not fail of it's immediate proper *Intrinsic* End, tho' the very worst of that kind a Writing could have, *To impose on the Reader*; which I am sure this Book has abundantly done. Lastly, A Book that being properly calculated for the height of the Peoples rage, under the dreadful Apprehensions of the Popish Plot, must have also had for it's immediate *Extrinsic* End, the utter destruction (at least) of all *English Roman-Catholicks* whatsoever; as well the most innocent of, and wholly averse from the said Positions (who are, I am certain, by very much the greater number of *English Catholicks*) as the most enormously nocent in maintaining any of them: And, by consequence, must have design'd even the total extirpation of the *Roman-Catholic* Religion, root and branch for ever out of *England*, tho' the Religion that for Nine Hundred Years in a perpetual Succession, Planted, Watered, Cultivated Christianity among our Forefathers. The Religion that Erected all our Churches,

founded



founded all our Universities, left Ten Thousand other Monuments of Piety behind it. The Religion, that for so many Ages under the *Saxon, Danish, Norman* Kings made all our Laws, and was Establish't by them. The Religion that render'd the *English* Name famous throughout the World, by Conquering *Ireland, Scotland, France, Cyprus* and *Hierusalem*. Yea, the Religion that for the last 400 Years of it's being the Religion of the State and Church of *England*, when, and as soon as through the weakness of some of our Princes, the *Pope's* encroachments got footing in this Nation, opposed them mightily, and continu'd so to do from time to time all along: as appears by the Assizes of *Clarendon* under *Henry* the II. and the Laws of *Provisors* in the Parliament of *Carlisle* under *Edward* the I. and the other at *Westminster* held under *Edward* the III. and the Statute of *Provisors* under *Richard* the II. and many more Statutes under *Henry* the IV. and *Henry* the V. until at last, under *Henry* the VIII. it extinguish't them utterly by that one other Act, which ever since to this present day has been held the *Palladium* of *England* against the *Pope* and all his Encroachments, and all his pretences too, nay, and all Forrein Jurisdiction whatsoever.

And therefore I think it was rationally concluded by me on the reading of Your Lordships  
fore



foresaid Book of *Poper*y, &c. That, certainly, without some special quarrel of God to the small remainder of the Professors of that Religion in *England*, for some grievous Sins of theirs; or, at least, of some amongst them, against the Laws of that very Religion it self, neither would his Goodness and Mercy, no nor even his Justice, have permitted Your Lordship to write such a Book, as in the conjuncture of affairs, and by the contexture of its arguments, must have naturally and necessarily had those very immediate Ends, both *Intrinsic* and *Extrinsic* of its Publication which I have but now observed.

Nay, I am sure that, passing by the Reason of this Inference *a priori*, (which may appear to every man as clearly and easily as that Infiniteness in perfection must be Essential and equally Essential to each Divine Attribute :) and considering only *a posteriori* the custom of God in protecting heretofore his own beloved People,

\* See particularly the Book of *Judges*, besides a hundred other places in the *Old Testament*.

† See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* l. 8. cap. 1.

the ancient *Israelites*, under the \* *Old Testament*; and the Primitive Christians under the † *New*, unchangeably held by Him to such a degree that until some extraordinary provocation of their sins did wholly incense his Wrath, He suffer'd not their Enemies to move a Finger to harm them; I am sure, I say, that this only consideration is ground enough for me to perswade my self, I justly think so as I do of that first Conclusion deriv'd

riv'd by me from the reading Your Lordships Book.

### Section. III.

**T**He other was, That, albeit the understanding of man cannot fathom the unfearchable Judgments of God, and least of all those which (design'd by him to punish) fall on the Generality of any People; nor can determin certainly, neither, who all the Persons are, nor what, or of what kind all and every of those trangressions were that so incens't his wrath; yet, as it often runs in my mind, that

by what a Man sins by that he shall be punish't, methinks I find it verif'y'd

*Per quæ homo peccaverit, per illa & punietur.*

here. We have seen many of those bad Principles which Your Lordship charges upon the Religion of Catholicks, maintained now for a whole Century among us, by divers who not only *Profess* it, but profess to *Teach* it; and not only maintain'd, but infus'd, and inculcated, and prest, and as much as they could, propagated by word, and writing, and all manner of wayes, and with all manner of earnestness. We have seen abundance of well-meaning People impos'd upon by these means; and to the scandal of their Religion, as if it taught Disloyalty, frightened from giving security of their Allegiance by the Oath appointed by Law; and chusing rather to give just matter of suspicion to their Princes, and offence to their Fellow-Subjects, and hazard great penalties besides.

To

To supply the defect of Reason, we have seen the countenance of Authority procured against it; and that Authority heightn'd, as if the firmness of Religion and steadiness of Church-Government depended upon obedience to it; when, alas! it proceeds in this case upon the Opinion of those Learned Men, or who pass for Learned Men, who were consulted; and, who happen'd to be, as in those Countries many are, of sentiments contrary to others (elsewhere) in this point more learned, and far more disinterested than themselves. We have seen this Authority, when it has been question'd, endeavour'd to be justify'd by those Principles; tho' the Scene has since been changed, and the Principles, instead of justifying that Authority, forc't to take shelter under it. For, now, Time, and debating the matter; having made it impossible to maintain them, and shameful to own them, they yet make a shift to keep themselves from being renounced by pretending respect to Authority, and tenderness to affront it. We have seen their Maintainers as violent, and as unfortunately successful against the form of *Allegiance*, known by the name of the *Irish Remonstrance*. And by that experiment and several others, which if it were requisit I could produce, we see that the exceptions of inconvenient phrases, the word [*Heretical*] and the like, which are now commonly made against the *English Oath*, are not the true Motives of those who invented them; but addition to those bad Principles which they disguise under pretences less odious: For there are none of these inconvenient

venient Phrases in the *Irish Form*, which yet they impugn with equal ardour. We have seen them obstinately cross a manifest and great good of *Catholiks* voluntarily offer'd, and the compassion of a House of Lords, inclining and intending to ease us of a great part of the burthen which the Law layes upon us, obstructed and frustrated by them. And our Fathers have seen worse; an Execrable and a True Plot, contriv'd and carry'd on even to the period designed for execution, against the Sacred Person of the King himself, the Royal Family and the Nobility, and which, if the fatal Powder had taken fire, would unavoidably have spread its raging Flames through the whole Kingdom.

I wish they would lay their hands on their hearts who by tenaciously espousing such Principles, draw upon themselves their share of Guilt in the mischief they have done, and may do. They know a severe account will one day be taken of their Stewardship, and what follows a faithful or not faithful Dispensation. Inquisition will be made into the tacking of things to the Law of God, in which all addition is forbid; and things, which are not only no part of it, but false and pernicious besides; things which throw a scandal upon it, and hinder thousands perhaps, and thousands, from embracing it; whose Souls, if they perish, will be requir'd at their hands who were the cause of their loss. Inquisition will be made into the just Jealousy given to Princes, especially of another Communion; and the distrust they must have of their Subjects, of whom they know



know not who will be for or against them, in case of danger from these Principles. And what share that Jealousie and that distrust has, in making severe Laws against the whole Religion, must likewise be accounted for. Inquisition will be made into the continuance of those Laws, which had long since been taken off, if we would our selves: into the crying complaints of Families which have suffer'd Imprisonment or pecuniary Penalties, and through want are become unable to maintain themselves or provide for their Children: into that Universal and stiff animosity against *Popery*, by which many a one would be better content to see his Child turn *Atheist* than *Papist*: into the consequences of this disrepute they have given to *Catholik* Religion, disposing the Nation to believe the Generality of it's Professours, if not all, guilty of the most hideous Treasons upon the Testimony of two or three infamous Persons, who otherwise would have found no credit at all: And into a thousand other things, which as much as they are hid from us now, will lie open there: For the bad Effects of bad Principles are infinite. As no Disguizes will pass there, they must before all the World own what is; and say those who can say most for themselves (every body perhaps cannot say so much) they thought those Principles true; or, were under obedience, and did as they were bid. But what alas! will they say, for having these thoughts, they who undertake to teach others, and in whom Ignorance is no excuse? If any Man could then say, these Principles are True, and that



that, while he was in this Life, he saw they were, he might make us see as much *Now*; but, far from it, we see all that is alledg'd to that purpose, is pittifully weak. And then, to think Obedience will be a Justification of wrong to Religion, of want of Duty to our Princes (let them be of what Religion they will) of Injury to our Neighbour, &c. is, to think an excellent Virtue may produce the worst effects that can be.

I wish they may, and hope they will, while it is yet in their power, provide for that dreadful, but inevitable Day, who have reason to apprehend it: And, truly, 'tis the very worst I wish them for all the trouble, to say no more, that I have suffer'd by them; and, 'tis the same I wish to mine own Soul. In the mean time, which is more to my purpose, the Justice of God, which has been so long, and so grievously provoked by Teaching False, and wicked, and extreamly harmful Principles; in plain terms, by Preaching another Gospel, for so much, than that of *Christ* our Lord, for a whole Century, even to this Day, is but too much justify'd. How much, and, how truly soever they may Complain of the Injustice of Man, by feign'd Plots, Condemning Men, who never dream'd of them, and shedding their Innocent Blood; They cannot say but GOD is Just.

#### Section IV.

**I** Pray God even they be secure at that Day, whose Conscience does not reproach them with Concurring, or so much as Consenting to these

these Things; who, neither themselves believe, nor have Propagated them to others. I wish they would lay their Hands on their Hearts too, and consider, whether they have done their Duty. They have seen the Gospel not rightly Preach'd, and become a Scandal, and a Reproach; their Princes Alarum'd with Suspensions too justly ground; their Neighbour Afflicted, &c. Is their Duty discharg'd, by standing by, unconcern'd and silent; or saying, it may be, to a confident Friend, in private, whom they can trust: I like not these doings, and will have no hand in them; you may take the *Oath of Allegiance*, but name not me for your Author? Why have they not risen up against them with that Vigour, which the Importance of the Thing and their Calling requires? Why not Resisted the reprehensible Action, and the reprehensible Man to his Face? Why not Admonish'd and Exhorted in season, and out of season; and effectually preserved the Flock untainted, and the Food ministred to them as wholesome, as it was at first Receiv'd? 'Tis true, they have not been Wolves, to Worry the Sheep; but is the Dog that barks not, in no fault? Why have they not stood firmly in the gap, and suffer'd nothing to enter that might demolish the Vineyard of our Lord? Have no Considerations of this World sway'd with them? No fear of Man, no fear of trouble; or being less easy, if they should displease, or less favourably look'd on? Far be it from me, to make my self their Judge; but truly I fear for them. What they think Christian prudence,

dence, (for I know what they have to say) will, I doubt, prove a worldly, a deceitful, a false Prudence, and very short from being able to justify the languishing of the Evangelical Vigor of their Calling, and the not answering those mighty Obligations, which lyè on them, as Apostolical Men, as the Lights of the World, and Salt of the Earth; or as Exemplars to others, of all intire unblameable Fidelity, Submission and Obedience to the State; or as Seekers for the straying Sheep in the Defart; or, in a word, as the Preachers of his Gospel, who was the Crucify'd Lord.

And, therefore, 'tis plain there have not been wanting, on their side neither, provocations enow of a Just GOD, to suffer the Injustice of Man, to involve them also in the same Condemnation with the former. *And, thus, Wisdom is justify'd by her Children, as our Saviour speaks (Matthew the 11th.) to the Jews; and what I alleadg'd at first, Per qua homo peccaverit per illa & punietur: By what a Man sins, by that shall he also be punish'd, is verify'd of this part of Catholicks too; while those Principles which have been, tho' in a different manner, the sin of both sides against God, are at length become the Punishment of both by Man. And this, whilst the same God in his just indignation, permits your Lordship to Charge them both, no less unjustly than equally; and Charge them too with being obliged, even by the most Essential Tyes of their Religion to maintain; nay, to Believe, as Catholick Doctrines, the*

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most

most dangerous, most bloody, most horrible destructive Positions that ever yet were broach'd.

### Section V.

**M**Y Lord, these Considerations, how unpleasant soever to my self, and whether extrinſick or no to the main purpose of this Letter, were the only certain Deductions I made from your Lordships foresaid Book, when first I had read it through, some Five years since, tho' without any design of drawing them on Paper, so much as for my own private use; much more, without any thought of giving them, or (with them, or without them) any other Animadversions on that Book, to publick view in Print. The truth is, that, after all, fixing my thoughts once more upon the Divine Hand above, that moves both Hands and Pens of Men; and withal, reflecting a little on that Honour I had (tho' but once, and so long since) of Dr. *Barlow's* kind obliging Discourse; I would still retain the same esteem, the same veneration, the same good wishes I formerly had for your Lordship; and retain them still (I say) notwithstanding the obliquity of your Draughts, the severity of your Designs, and the great advantage to set off the one, and promote the other, arising from the great vogue of Dr. *Barlow's* Learning, and great Authority, besides Popularity, of the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Name. And therefore, how Injurious or Destructive soever to all His Majesties Catholick Subjects,

I pre-



I presently upon the first reading, apprehended that Book of yours to be; yet, nor then, nor indeed a long time after, could I entertain any thoughts of animadverting upon it, against an Author I had so much deference for.

Tho' withall, I confess to Your Lordship, that on the same occasion I had these two, no less hearty than early wishes. 1. That instead of this unexpected Book against those pretended Positions of the *Roman - Catholick* Religion, in Answer to the unknown *Person of Honour's Letter*; you had, in compliance with the known Bishop of *Winchester's* Message, both Written and set forth that desired Work against the real *Arian* (if not *Socinian*, yea *Mahumetan*) blasphemies of *Sandius*. 2. That, since it had proved otherwise, and that Your Lordship had (tho' on another occasion) fixt on a Subject so injurious to an innumerable Number of innocent Christians, you might happily meet with a just answerer; a Person of other abilities than I, to undertake this Province; and lay open before Your own eyes the vanity of your Suppositions, the fallacy of your Argumentations, the inconclusiveness of your whole Book, as to its main purpose of deriving from, or fixing on the *Roman-Catholick* Religion your *Popery* or *Principles* and *Positions*, &c. And, how, as this Book of yours has been properly fitted to a strange conjunction of Accidents, and the capacity of an ignorant unthinking multitude; so it can perswade no knowing Persons but those only who are willing to be impos'd upon.



And these two, My Lord, having been the very worst of my wishes to your Lordship, at any time since my first perusal of your *Popery*; I may now add that, if I be not extreemly deceived, I could have had no better at all occasion'd by the Subject, in reference either to the Publick, or to your own Person and Dignity.

The former would have oblig'd the whole Christian World, by vindicating Christianity it self from the Arianism of *Sandius*; and by consequence, amongst all Churches, Nations, People, Tongues adoring Christ, and believing his Eternal Divinity as of the same substance with his Father, would have every where, *East, West, and South, and North* throughout the World in both Hemispheres, not only celebrated in our Age your Lordships Name, but have transmitted it to after-Ages with this Glorious Elogy, *Thomas Barlous, Academicus Oxoniensis, Sacrae Theologiae Doctor Eximius, Ecclesiae Lincolnensis Praesul Reverendissimus, Christianae Religionis ab Arianismo, Socinianismo, Mahumetismo Sandij clarus, inclitus, felicissimus Vindex.*

The latter would have given you a fair occasion to unriddle the Mystery of this Reserve of yours so often repeated in your Book, *viz. [If, when, where believed and practiced.]* It would have put even a manifest necessity on you to let others, as well as your self, see the latent supposition of your own knowledge, that neither the *Roman-Catholick* Religion it self, nor the great Body of its Professors, can be otherwise charged

charged with your *Popery* or *Positions*, than in such a manner: that is, with such a Reserve annexed as to understanding men renders the whole Charge untrue, nay absolutely false, and vain, and ridiculous too. It would have convinc'd you of a very extraordinary great obligation of conscience on you to declare in effect so much publickly, expressly and plainly, to the *British* World at least; and thereby, as much as lies in you, withdraw that Fuel Ministred by you for increasing the Flame, and heightening the Peoples rage against (God knows) many thousands of poor, commiserable, harmless Souls; whatever in the mean time their Leaders, or any of their Leaders, on either side may be. It would consequently, have proved to your Lordship one of those External means of Auxiliary Grace to restore that Internal Peace of Christ to your own Soul, which surpasseth all sense, which the World cannot give, which neither Zeal for the Publick, nor any other Virtues, how many, and how excellent soever can bring without a good conscience to God and Man; and therefore, neither without satisfaction made to ones power, at least where the injury done is both apparent and atrocious.

All which consider'd as the natural effects, part of the one, part of the other of these two desirable things wished for by me; nothing can be clearer than that I could have no better wishes, on the subject, as to this Life, whether in relation to the Publick, or to your Lordships own particular.

## Section. VI.

**B**Ut however I flatter'd my self with such pleasing Idea's of conditional futurities; yet as upon reflection I saw the object of my former Wish irrecoverably past into that kind of *Privation*, which even then had annex't to it an absolute impossibility of change into the desired *Habit* (the Being or Existence of an Answer from you to *Sandius* instead of your *Pope's* against *Roman-Catholicks*;) so I fear'd the Object of my latter Wish (*viz.* Some other Person, and of other abilities than I, to answer that Book of yours) notwithstanding its possibility, would never come, at least in any due time, to actual existence. Nor was this fear of mine either groundless or vain.

1. Because the down-right Court of *Rome* party amongst *English* Catholicks, being that which has in all manner of wayes all along espoused as well the maxims as the interest of that Court, and continues of the same mind still, neither would nor indeed could without shame, without effrontery, without belying, contradicting and even condemning themselves and their Predecessors these hundred years past, nay, without a total change of themselves into other Men, so much as attempt to answer this your Lordships Book. They have been from their beginning here amongst *English* Catholicks, the known, profest, irreclaimable, everlasting sticklers both by word and writing for the Papal Deposing Power, and all the consequentialls of it. They, the Men of *England* that before your Lordship have so mightily even

ven of late, contended to impose this Papal Deposing Power ; and, by consequence, all your Popery, on the *Roman-Catholick* Church it self, and impose it too upon her as a very Article of her Divine Revealed Faith. And therefore, They the only grand opposers of the Oath of Allegiance, ever since it was first enacted to this present day ; and They to that very same Holy purpose, the Loyal Authors of those three famous Tracts so lately come forth as the year 1677. under the Title of *The Jesuits Loyalty*. To say nothing now of their last invention of Writing and Publishing in Print, and in *English* too, even a very Catechism by way of Question and Answer ; to make the several Heads of their opposition to the said Oath pass for Christian Doctrine among their Believers, and this no earlier than the year 1680. as if some phrenzy had possess'd them then on purpose to make the ~~Popish~~ Plot the more believable, or at least render the rigorous execution of the Penal Laws against all Papists the more excusable.

2. Because the rest of the Clergy, who are of the contrary side, and want neither qualifications nor inclinations to right themselves and their Church, by writing against your Book, would have a new Plea added to what they used to alledge in excuse of their silence and backwardness ; and that a more justifiable, at least a more specious one, derived from the present condition of things. They would alledge the case was wholly alter'd now from that of the more indulgent times formerly ; that now the



Penal Statutes were executed with utmost rigour, even against those of their Brethren who had freely of themselves before a Justice of Peace taken both the Legal Oaths: And therefore, certainly 'twas manifest enough, that the Question was no more now of their Allegiance to the King, or assurance of their Fidelity to the Crown, but of apostatizing from their old Religion, by taking the new Test. That seeing the case is such, that to save their lives, they must (if yet they can) even venture back beyond Sea again, where the Pope can reach them at his will; it were in them against all Rules of self-preservation to offend His Holiness anew, who is made sufficiently jealous of them already, and exasperate him even to their destruction there, where otherwise they might (tho' but poorly) expect to live. Finally, that without any peradventure so they would both incense His Holiness, his Court, and Great Ministers to a Man, if they should return (as they ought to do or none at all) a due and full Answer to your Book; by allowing what is true therein, clearing themselves, vindicating the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, Faith, Church, Communion or Great Body of Her Believers; and in a word, saddling the right Horse with all your *Popery*, and all the very worst positions of it. —

3. Because the Lay-Men of Parts, and Knowledge and Zeal also for their Religion (for such there are some, as well of those devoted to the secular Clergy, as of them who have *Jesuits*, or such other principled Regulars for their Chaplins.)



lins) would notwithstanding most certainly decline this trouble of answering your Book, as not belonging to their Province at all. Their Duty was only to live according to their Faith, to profess it openly when called upon by those who had power to question them. The Defence of it, whether by word or writing, lay on others; who to that purpose were specially ordain'd, commission'd, sent; who had neither Wives to look after, nor Children to care for; nor Families to be maintain'd, nor Estates to be secur'd, nor expectation of Posterity to be regarded. Besides, that the Controversie its self as my Lord of *Lincoln* has involv'd it, depends on so many Books and Quotations, that men of ordinary Reading and no Libraries, could be no sufficient undertakers to clear it. In short, they would undoubtedly say, they had other Fish to fry, than to think of answering the Bishop of *Lincoln's* leasurely hours, when their very Souls must be taken up with thoughts of flitting and flying away for ever out of their Native Soyl; when all their own, and their Posterity's hopes in this Life were wholly at stake.

4. Because that both among the Clergy and Layity on this very side, on conference with them I found, that some of their most judicious Contemplative Men, reflecting on the extraordinarines of the Storm and Seas of evils from every point of the compass rowling upon them, were positive for making no Defence, no Answer at all to your Lordships Book: None, absolutely, in any other way, than that  
recom-

recommended by *Origen Adamantius* near 1500 years since, to answer the Calumnies of the *Epicurean* Philosopher *Celsus* in his virulent Book against Christian Religion. For however this incomparable Man, the Oracle of Learning and Piety throughout the World in his time, was at last perswaded by the zealous importunity of his dear Convert, Patron, Friend *Ambrose* of *Alexandria*, to write against *Celsus* that insuperable Defence of Christianity in eight Books, which we have still extant under his name: Yet, in his Preface before them addressing to his beloved Importuner, he let him know plainly enough his own thoughts were wholly fixt on a more excellent

(a) *Servator ac Dominus noster Jesus Christus falsis gravatus testimonio obtruncit, ad crimina objecta nihil respondit; sciens, tota sua vita & actis inter Judæos spectatis, melius falsitatem delationis coargui quam ullis verbis aut defensionibus. Tu vero, pie vir Ambrose, nescio cur contra Celsi calumnias quas adversus Christianos fidemque Ecclesiasticam Scripto edidit, voluisti nos respondere; quasi non esset in ipsis rebus manifesta redargutio, & verbum quibuscunque Literis præstantius, quod & ficta Testimonia reddit evanida, & criminationibus, ut quicquam efficiant, ne verisimilitudinem quidem concedit. Orig. in Præf. Librorum contra Celsum.*

way of defending so divine a Cause. (a) [*Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (says he) being oppress'd with false Testimonies, held his peace; being charg'd with Crimes answer'd not a word, knowing that his whole Life & Actions among the Jews, must have been a stronger*

defence against the forgery of his Accusers than any word, could be: Yet thou, O Pious Man Ambrose, wouldst, I know not why, have us to answer those Calumnies that Celsus vomited against the Christians and their Faith, in his Book written to that purpose; as if indeed there were not in the Things themselves concerning us that very manifest refutation, yea that very word of greater strength than any Letters or Writing; which not only renders all their fictions vain, but leaves not so much as any colour of truth in them.] So said he in that occasion to declare his own inward thoughts, and convince Ambrose by this one great Instance of the Author and Finisher of our Faith, that, whensoever through the envy of Satan, and malice of Man, the powers of the World are set on the destruction of his Disciples and Religion; the only Defence most suitable to them, should be their adding then to the innocence of their former conversation that Silence of all Injuries, that Patience under all Reproaches, that sufferance of all evils even to death, without one word of contradiction returned to their Accusers, which their Divine Master had himself practis'd to lead the way before 'em. And so, in effect, said one of those contemplative judicious Men to me, in relation particularly to your Lorships Book and the Secular Priests of *England*. As if he meant to say in plainer terms (for so I understood him) that seeing the peaceable and Loyal demeanour of this Party all along in *England*, under the successive Reigns of four several Princes, from the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth* to this present,

sent, was manifestly apparent; and the Publick Practice of all *Roman-Catholick* States and Churches abroad throughout *Europe*, in reference to the Pope's either true Authority, or meer pretences, was no less publickly known: considering also that both the one and the other, were such things as must of themselves be a full and manifest confutation of my Lord of *Lincoln's* Book; yea, a Word of much greater Power against it than any Writing; and that, nevertheless, the design as well against *Them*, as the most obnoxious of the other side went on with so much fierceness still; they for their part had nothing more to answer my Lord of *Lincoln*, but in that way our Saviour did his false Accusers, and *Annas* and *Pilate* both.

Now, altho' reflecting on this positive resolve of such thinking, resign'd good men, and withall on those other Causes given before, I saw but slender hopes (or rather none at all) of that neither, which was my second Wish relating to your Lordships Book: yet after all, I could not for my heart fancy the supplying this defect my self. Not that I would decline the labour in so just a cause, or wanted Zeal for it; but that, as a Man would think, I lay under some I know not what, secret Charm remaining still upon me, from that only one hours conversation at *Oxford* with the Learned, Civil, Obliging Dr. *Barlow*. For, indeed 't was the remembrance of the honour I had by this, however little of your acquaintance, tho' so long since, that, as often as it return'd upon the occasion of your Book, render'd me perfectly averse from



from any pains or study of my own, that might be against the Right Reverend and Illustrious Bishop of *Lincoln*, in any sort. And so I continu'd a long time, and so I resolv'd to continue for ever, very far estrang'd from any thought to the contrary.

## Section. VII.

**B**ut the purposes of Man are in God's disposal, and so I found it in this matter. For not only beyond all expectation, but quite contrary to my own Inclination, I met at last with the very fortune of *Adamantius*, even another *Ambrose*. That is a Person, who (altho' neither my Convert, nor yet my Patron, but only a Friend) continually ply'd me from time to time, these two or three years last, with no less warmth of Zeal and unweary'd importunity, to make some Animadversions on your Lordships Book, than the *Alexandrian Ambrose* did *Origen* for his Answer to *Celsus*. And I must confess, that, however I had strength enough left me still to resist both his importunity and zeal, barely taken in themselves; yet they, and only they, occasionally put me on considering those many other things, which in conclusion even plainly forc't me to acquiesce and yield to his desires.

I consider'd, First, what it was I had driven at almost all my life (I am sure the better part of it) by all my Studies, Watchings, Labours, without any respite given my wearied Soul. That I had no other aime in all, than that which look't directly towards the most publick, and most desirable Good in this Life, the Peace  
of



of the Churches, and Union of Christians in the same Universal Fold. That for endeavoring to promote as much as lay in me, so great a blessing to Church and State, the Priesthood and the Kingdom both, I had undergone the most grievous displeasure of all those in chiefest Power in that very Church, in which I myself was Baptiz'd, Confirm'd, Educated in the Faith of Christ, receiv'd the Bread of Life at the Altars of God ; wherein I was ordain'd a Priest, wherein I do persevere still and hope to end my dayes. That I had continually for six and thirty years all along to the very present, lain under the heavy indignation of the Court of *Rome*, and all it's Ministers ; nay, and all the most Holy Popes themselves, that have been since *Innocent* the Tenth of Blessed Memory : To say nothing now of the greater part of the Bishops and Clergy, both Secular and Regular of my own Country, incens'd against me so mightily for so many years. That, to pass also by as well those many hazards of my very life, in *Ireland*, *Spain*, *Low-Countries* ; which I did run ; as the manifold Censures of the Church, viz. Suspension, Interdict, Excommunication which were pronounced against me in the former *Irish* Controversy between *Joannes Baptista Rinuccini* the Popes Extraordinary Nuncio, and the Confederates of *Ireland* ; I had, besides, on account of the later Controversy about the *Irish Remonstrance*, past over these last fourteen years under a two-fold new Excommunication, (besides Deprivation of all legitimate Acts, as they call 'em) fulminated

nated against me with all solemnity, *Anno* 1670. First at *Brussels* in *Brabant*, and soon after at *Valladolid* in *Spain*. That in the mean while I had nevertheless Publisht many Treatises, some in *English*, some in *Latin*, against that very *Popery*, and those very *Principles* and *Positions* your Lordship would pin upon the *Roman Catholick Church* and Faith. That in those Treatises, especially *The History of the Irish Remonstrance*, I had written at large \* a-

\* *History of the Irish Remonstrance*, Part. 1. from pag. 30. to p. 35. from p. 60. to p. 84. and then, at last, most diffusely, from p. 102. to p. 488.

against the *Theological Faculty of Louain*, and *Bel-larmin*, and *Baronius*, and *Suarez*, &c. and the whole tribe of those flattering Court Divines of *Rome*; and (if I be not mightily mistaken) clearly demonstrated against them all by Scripture, Tradition, Reason, that neither the *Roman-Catholick Church* nor Faith, is any farther concern'd in the foresaid impious, unreasonable Doctrines (your *Popery* and *Positions*) than to condemn them every one. That besides, in the Years 76 and 77. I had written those two Letters to the *Roman-Catholick Bishop of Ferns*, which your Lordship may peruse in this Book and in the latter of them said so much for the Protestant Church of *England*, tho' without any reflection at all on the *Roman-Catholick Church* of all Nations, that my Lord Bishop of *Winchester* thought fit to publish it last year (tho' without my knowledge) in a Book of his own. Lastly, That in imitation of many good Men, who

who led the way before me (for such I take *Erasmus, Cassander, Espenceus, Wicelius, Barnesius, &c.* to have been) I had spent my dayes hitherto in Writing, Disputing, Acting, Suffering all I could to promote the foresaid most desirable Good of Peace between the Churches of Christ, at least between His Majesty's Subjects of both Communions, this of *England*, and that of *Rome*. And because thereunto I had conceiv'd the first and most necessary Preparative was, on one side to clear the *Roman-Catholick* Church from the horror of such abominable Doctrins as not only many of her own Licentious Writers, but many of her greatest Popes (ever since *Gregory* the 7th.) have, among less knowing men, given but too much occasion to suspect her guilty of: And on the other side, to alledge in behalf of the Protestant Church of *England*, what she herself alledges against the odious imputation whether of Heresie, or Schism, or both: I had likewise, consequently, and most affectionately done both; and that, in doing both, or any thing else whatever I did from the beginning towards so desirable, so Blessed an End, I had certainly been without any prospect, hope or thought of other reward, than that of our Saviour's assurance on the Mount to *Peace-makers*; that they are *Blessed, because they shall be called the Children of God.* Matth. 5. 9.

#### Section. VIII.

**N**Ext, I consider'd, that My Lord of *Lincoln* runs counter to this design of *Peace*. That in his foresaid Book he represents the *Roman-Catholicks*

*Catholicks* universally, as even by an Essential Tye of their Religion, so deprav'd with Anti-christian, Inhumane, Impious Tenets; nay, Tenets destructive to the very Fundamentals not only of all Governments on Earth, but all Society amongst Men; that were it indeed with the Professours of that Religion, as he sayes it is: no Man of Reason or Conscience ought so much as once think of any Christian Peace or Church-Communion with them, or any Part of them, at any time for ever.

I consider'd that, as in the dayes of old, such envious *Pagan* Priests and Writers as (imitating in this partly the *Jews*) impeacht the Primitive Christians not only of Impiety towards the Gods (now denying they had \*

any, and now again presently giving them one with an † *Asse's ears*, a cloven Foot, a Gown about him, & a Book in his hand) but of inhuman viscerations, the murther of Infants and feeding on their Flesh,

meer *Thyestean dishes*; and then both incestuous and promiscuous copulations following in their nocturnal meetings, after putting out the Light || :

\* Dicentes hæresin sectamque Christianorum nullius numinis culticem extitisse. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234.*

† Deus Christianorum Ononychites. *Tert. Apol. c. 16. vid. Spondanum ad Annum. 201.*

|| An vero etiam hi (nempe Marcionitæ) infamia illa & fabulosis in

vulgus sparsa sermonibus facinora in se ad mittant, lucernæ everisionem, & promiscuos concubitus & humanarum carniū viscerationes, nescimus. *Justin. Apol. 2. pag. 70.*

Trium igitur flagitiorum infamis rumor de nobis spargitur; Impietas quæ Deos tollat, Epulæ *Thyestea*, concubilus incesti. *Athenag. Legat. pro Christian.*



I consider'd, I say that, as those envious *Pagan-Priests* and *Writers* propos'd to themselves for the natural End of such horrible lies, To inflame the People, and make them cry out against innocent Men, as they did no less than two and twenty times in one day at *Nicomedia* to the Emperour *Dioclesian*, *Christiani tollantur*, *Auguste*, *Christiani tollantur*; *Let the Christians be put to death O Emperour, let the Christians be put to death*: Even so, the possessing all others with the pretended Truth of so heavy a Charge against all *Roman-Catholicks*, none at all excepted, was the chief immediate End which the most Reverend Author had in setting forth that Book, especially at such a time, first in *English*, and soon after in *Latin*.

I considered, that the Book it self had the fortune by several Editions and many thousand Copies of each edition to have been suddenly dispersed throughout His Majesties Dominions; to have been most earnestly sought for, most greedily bought up, Read, Study'd, Discours't of every where by all sorts of People; to have continu'd thus in vogue even four or five years continually, without meeting any where or in any Language one word of Answer; and (which must have been consequential) to have to some purpose attain'd the Reverend Author's immediate End, by implanting in its Readers generally, even the greatest horror that can be against a Religion of such horrible Maxims; nay, and as horrible Practices too (as he sayes) wherever and whenever the Professors of it can. That, whether for this successfulness in per-  
swading



swading those that read it, or the huge number of Quotations that compose it, or the great esteem the Author himself is in that owns it, or whether perhaps for all three, this I had been assur'd of, that the Generality of Protestants lookt upon it as absolutely *Unanswerable*; And that among the *Catholicks* themselves there wanted not some (and they too Persons of good Quality in the World, and great Zeal in matters of Religion) who pressing their own Church-men hard for an Answer to it, and seeing none come forth in so many years, were mightily startled at last, and continue so at this very present. Wherefore,

Then I consider'd a little more seriously, whether in so long and so hopeless a defect of others, I could any longer excuse my self? And, since the Controversies and Studies I have been immers't in, for the greatest part of my life, had thoroughly made me conversant in all the matters necessary to be known for answering such a Book and such a Charge; whether the Laws of Fellow-feeling and Fellow-membership, and those of Charity to our Neighbours, and those of Justice to the Great Body we are Members of, and those of Truth her self for paying at least the Tribute owing to Her, did not oblige me to resist no longer my Zealous Friend? Or, whether, as in a dangerous Fire, or sudden breach of the Sea through its Dikes, or the scaling or entring the City-walls by an Enemy, the Laws of God and Nature oblige every man that is able, in the defect of others, to give an effectual stop to the raging fury of

M 2      the

the evil, if he can; whether, I say, it was not so as to me, in the present case?

I consider'd that our Saviour's not answering a word to his wicked false Accusers, not even then, when besides the High Priest of the *Jews*, *Pilate* himself, who was his Judge, did mightily urge him to answer, is one of those Precedents in his stupendious Life which both Reason and the Fathers tell us are more to be admired than imitated by us. (Besides that the work of our Redemption depended upon that very silence of His, for *Pilate* would have had him

\* Mat. 27. 17, 18. &  
Orig. Præf. contra Cel-  
sum.

answer on purpose to  
\* save him.) That albeit  
*Origen's* peculiar extra-  
ordinary desire of Mar-

tyrdom ever since he had entred on the Seven-  
teenth year of his † age,  
when his Father *Leonides*  
suffer'd for the Faith of

Christ, made him at first propose to his *Alex-  
andrian Ambrose* the imitation of that wonder-  
ful Precedent as the most excellent way of an-  
swering the Calumnies of *Celsus*; yet, after all,  
he, even he himself, was so far convinc'd of the  
necessity of another kind of Answer; that he  
yielded to *Ambrose* in the point, and writ his  
Divine Refutation of *Celsus* in eight Books at  
large, as I have observ'd before. That, of the  
same final judgment of his were, in the like oc-  
casion, as well before him *Athenagoras* the Phi-  
losopher and *Justin Martyr* in their Apologies  
for Christians; as in the same age with him,  
his contemporary *Tertullian* writing at *Rome*,  
his

his admirable Apologetick [*Ad Romani Imperij Antistites*] addrest to the Emperour *Severus's* Lieutenants \* there in his absence. And that, of the very same judgment

\* Spondan. ad an. Christi 201.

were all those other Christians of all Ages, that, either before or after him, either under Heathen, or under Heterodox Princes, apologiz'd for themselves and their Holy Faith, in writing.

I consider'd, that, how hainous and horrible soever the Crimes that were charg'd on Christians in those early dayes of *Justin* and *Athenagoras* must be confes't to be; yet the Principles (to say nothing now of the Practises) which in our dayes my Lord of *Lincoln* charges on all *Roman-Catholicks*, are so far from yielding to those very Crimes; that, if not in point of the most infamous horrrour, yet I am sure in point of the most real evil to the Church and State, and all Mankind, they surpass them far; nay, I may say with truth, exceed them ten thousand times.

I consider'd withall, that the Church of *England* was no wayes concern'd in this quarrel, I am certain she cannot be, neither by her 39 Articles, nor Book of Common-Prayer, nor Ritual, nor Homilies, nor Canons, nor any other Declaration of hers. And, so, I am sure, for my part, I cannot see how the King, or State, or Laws of *England* may be concern'd therein; that is, either for my Lord of *Lincoln* in his foresaid Accusation, or against a *Roman-Catholick* in any just Answer to it.

I consider'd also, that, however I could all along these five years past with much colour

excuse the general silence of *Catholicks* to that Book; and peradventure unanswerably, by

\* Ideo prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quoniam tempus malum est.  
*Amos* 5. 13.

alleging and applying only this passage of the Prophet *Amos* \*, *In that time shall the prudent Man hold his peace, because it*

*is an evil time*; yet so I cannot any longer now. That hitherto indeed, the time has been to all *Roman-Catholicks* of these Dominions ever since my Lord of *Lincoln's* Popery was Publish'd in the Year 78 or 79. a time of so much evil, so much preoccupation and prejudice against 'em, that even Demonstrations as clear as any in *Euclid*, as evident as if they were drawn by the very beams of the Sun, would not perswade, would signifie nothing at all in their behalf. But now in 84 (thanks, honour, glory be to the immortal and invisible King of ages, the only God) it is far otherwise. Even so far, that now the night is over, and day-light shines, and the People's eyes are open, and shams have no more credit, and Hypocrisy is unmask't, and the true real Plot indeed, the wheel within the wheel, at last found out, and the danger prevented, and the Faction broke, and Traytors have suffer'd, and the Righteous cause Triumphs, the King is safe in his Throne, the State secure on its basis, the Church resettled, and Innocency, Justice and Truth may appear before 'em all, to plead against malicious lyes. And, therefore, if now, the minds of Men being calm, and Reason restored once again, and a fit disposition appearing dayly more  
and



and more in all sorts of well-meaning People to be inform'd aright; If now, I say, in such a conjuncture, nothing should come forth in Answer to my Lord of *Lincoln's* heavy Charge against all *Roman-Catholicks* universally; then of necessity, should such perpetual obstinate silence appear so excuseless, that among Judicious Men 'twould prove a stronger confirmation of that very charge, how grievous and cruel soever; than all the Arguments of the Book that has it.

Moreover, I consider'd again particularly in relation to my self, what I could say in the present circumstances for declining so necessary a Province. I that in defence of Truth and Loyalty had, by word and writing openly in several Instances, and continually for so many years hitherto, engag'd not only against so many Bishops, so many Arch-Bishops, so numerous a Clergy, both Secular and Regular, even those well nigh of a whole National Church; yea those of that very Country and Communion too, whereof I have alwayes been my self a Member; but against so many Apostolick Ministers; against Inter-Nuncio's, Nuncio's and Cardinals of the Court of *Rome*, under the successive Pontificates of the five most Blessed Popes, *Innocent* the X. *Alexander* the VII. *Clement* the IX. *Clement* the X. and the present most Holy Father himself *Innocent* the XI. I that in defence of Truth have engaged my self so deeply, and perpetually hitherto against so many such powerful Adversaries: what could I say, or what could I plead at the Barr of my own Conscience now, if, at least now, I should



not likewise in defence of Truth, of Innocency, of Justice, in defence (not of the particular Dioceſs of *Rome*, but) of the *Roman-Catholic* Church of all Nations, and their Communion, and their Religion it ſelf whereſoever on Earth, take a little pains to answer the Biſhop of *Lincoln's* Book, ſo injurious to them all? Or what could I at the laſt day before the Tribunal of God himſelf alledge to excuſe ſo great a failure; when the frequent importunities of others to perſwade me againſt it, and my own obſerving there was none elſe would ſupply it, and my knowledge too, that I was my ſelf furniſht with materials enough to undertake the task, ſhould riſe in judgment to condemn me?

*Laſtly*, I conſider'd 'twould be but ſorry pleading then, I know not what magnetick tye or ſecret charm upon me ſtill from that of the famous Dr. *Barlows* once entertaining me with civility of Diſcourſe in his Colledge at *Oxford* ſo many years ſince; the only time in my life I ſaw him; as if forſooth, in this diſtance of time and place, and change withal of other Circumſtances, the civility of a former complement from the Doctor; ſhould hinder now the Juſtice of an Answer to the Biſhop: Or, as if the Great *Juſticier* of Heaven, the Searcher of Hearts and Reins, could be impos'd upon by me by ſuch a Plea.

Section. IX.

**B**Ehold, My Lord, thoſe many other things in the beſt method I could give 'em, which, (as I have ſaid before) occaſionally thought upon, made me yield at laſt to the continual deſires,

fires, the zeal, the importunity of my *Ambrosian* Friend. And therefore, I hope Your Lordship will pardon both my former brief Animadversions in the Preface of my *Causa Valefiana*, and those, much more diffuse, in this present Epistolar Address, answering, at large your foresaid Book, for what therein I am concerned to answer. Both have proceeded from the same Fountain-head, an irresistible dictate of Conscience; and both have had all those very Considerations given but now, to ground that dictate on.

From thence, My Lord, *i. e.* from this Dictate and those Considerations, and not from any want of that Reverence and Esteem, that Honour and Veneration, due not only to the high Title, but Eminent Person of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, it was that, in my said Preface I discours't in *Latin* what I now give here Translated into *English* for their sakes that understand not the *Latin*. For these are my words in the fifth page there, continuing on for twelve pages more [*Accessit, vel potius precessit, &c.*]

“ Besides, or rather Before, (for I take it much more  
 “ to heart, and think my own good name deserves not to  
 “ to be put into the ballance with it) I consider'd that  
 “ Good, in pursuit whereof, I have with unweary'd pains  
 “ toyl'd away the greatest part of my life, I pray God  
 “ not in vain. All who know me, know I aime, and as  
 “ far as lawfully I may, with my utmost force endea-  
 “ your to put an end to the unhappy War of Religion;  
 “ to bring the divided forces of the Church Militant into  
 “ one Camp; and lay the storm of their mutual dissen-  
 “ sions and hate; that there may at last be one Fold, and  
 “ one Shepherd. I observ'd the Church in which I was  
 “ Baptiz'd

“Baptiz’d, Confirm’d, brought up and persevere from  
 “my Infancy, reproacht with several things which of-  
 “fend good Men, and wonderfully hinder the Union  
 “after which I sigh. I thought it became an honest  
 “Man, and was absolutely necessary for my design to  
 “take those things away. For, to urge People to con-  
 “sent to Points which swerve from Truth and Good-  
 “ness, is as far from my way of dealing as from Equity.  
 “Wherefore, not fearing the face of Man, I spared them  
 “not; but through good report and Evil report rose vi-  
 “gorously up, and resisted the reprehensible Man, as  
 “*Saul* did *Peter* to his face. On the other side, me-  
 “thought the bounds of unblameable moderation ought  
 “to have been more exactly kept. For it is not just to lay  
 “upon *All*, the faults of *Some*: If this be reasonable,  
 “all hopes of the Good I drive at are cut up by the  
 “roots. For it is to no purpose to expect, nor so much  
 “as desire an Union of good Men, if on the one side  
 “there be never a good Man to unite with; neither  
 “ought any body embrace, but avoid, and as far as may  
 “be, fly from a Society universally and intirely deprav’d.  
 “I saw it then absolutely necessary to remove this stum-  
 “bling block out of the way before any success in my de-  
 “sign could be so much as hoped.

“Wherefore, I was so far from looking on the cir-  
 “cumstances of this Time and Place, and hatred against  
 “*Catholicks*, now more violent than ordinary, as an ob-  
 “stacle, that, on the contrary, I thought them a princi-  
 “pal inducement. I observ’d there has been, chiefly  
 “these Six or Seven last years a continual noise through-  
 “out *England*, against that darling Doctrine of the *Court*  
 “of *Rome*, which subjects the Crowns and Lives of Prin-  
 “ces to the Pope’s pleasure. Pulpits, and Courts, and  
 “Parliament-Houses, the very Market-places, and  
 “Streets, and High-ways ringing with declamations  
 “and exaggerations, and invectives. I observ’d nothing  
 “was more frequently, nor more earnestly inculcated to  
 “the People, in their late heats, than that all *Catholicks*  
 “(without exception) believe every part of that Doc-  
 “trine as revealed by God himself; and all the maxims of  
 “it, how absur’d, impious, and inhuman soever, as direct

“Articles

“ Articles of Christian Faith. I observ’d the Famous Book  
 “ of the most Reverend, and likewise most Learned Bishop  
 “ of *Lincoln*, Entituled *POPERY*, or *Principles*, &c. which  
 “ came out in 79 to perswade every body that this was so,  
 “ has by several Editions and multitudes of Copies run  
 “ over the three Kingdoms without any check of Answer  
 “ in four whole years; has been greedily read by all  
 “ sorts of People, and every where met with success in the  
 “ End propos’d by the most Reverend Author, the im-  
 “ printing a deep hatred of the *Roman-Catholick* Faith  
 “ in the minds of his Readers. Considering these things  
 “ seriously, I inwardly grieved, that no body in so long  
 “ a time should, tho’ but in one sheet, one line, one  
 “ word, offer to lay open the Fallacies, or answer the  
 “ Arguments of a Book so injurious; or give notice,  
 “ tho’ but indirectly and by the by, that they conclude  
 “ nothing less than what the Authour intended; *viz.*  
 “ That those unsound Doctrines and Principles are the  
 “ Dictates or Belief of the *Roman-Catholick* Church.

“ When I had silently reflected on all this, I could  
 “ not but see, that to publish the merits of my Cause,  
 “ and that in *England*, and at this time, was, if not sea-  
 “ sonable, at least no wayes unseasonable even for the  
 “ Vindication of *Catholick*-Religion. For, tho’ there be  
 “ nothing in it against the most Reverend Author or his  
 “ elaborate Work on set purpose, yet so many things as  
 “ are there, so many Demonstrations there are against  
 “ both. Unless perhaps those who in *Ireland*, till the ut-  
 “ ter overthrow of the Nation stood firm against the  
 “ Pope’s Extraordinary Nuncio *Rinuccini* and his Cen-  
 “ sures, hundreds and thousands of Priests, with twelve  
 “ Bishops, and all the People of three Provinces, besides  
 “ a good part of the fourth were of another Religion  
 “ than the *Roman-Catholick*. Unless the Bishops, Priests  
 “ and Noblemen, who afterwards in 61. subscrib’d the  
 “ *Remonstrance*, renounced *Catholick*-Faith, unless *Walsh*  
 “ himself, who is now in the 14th. Year of his Excommu-  
 “ nication for the sake of that *Remonstrance*, and *Harold*  
 “ who is now in the 9th. year of his confinement at  
 “ *Brussels* on the same account, have bid farewell to their  
 “ former Religion. I forbear to mention, that the  
 “ *English*



“*English Roman-Catholick* Chapter, in the same year  
 “1661 offer’d to me, and by me to the Court, to take  
 “the Oath of Allegiance heretofore condemned by  
 “*Paulus* the 5th. as it lay, and that 500 Priests, as ma-  
 “ny as depended on the Chapter were ready likewise to  
 “do it. And yet none of these profess any Religion but  
 “the *Roman-Catholick*. All these are Arguments which  
 “my case affords, and which by undeniable matter of  
 “Fact, and Examples of our own Countrymen make it  
 “plain that all *Roman-Catholicks* are so far from approv-  
 “ing those Decrees of the Court of Rome, which con-  
 “cern the Deposition of Princes, with their train of con-  
 “sequences, that there are *English* and *Irish* in our own  
 “dayes, and in no contemptible number, who have o-  
 “penly rejected them as impious. Were this a proper  
 “place to refute that most injurious Book, almost all the  
 “Kingdoms of *Europe* would afford both very many,  
 “and very notorious Arguments of the like nature,  
 “drawn from matter of Fact. There would presently

See *Jus Belgarum con-*  
*tra recept. Bull. Pontifici-*  
*arum.*

“occur what Authors every  
 “where say of the *Sicilian*  
 “*Monarchy*, and *State of Ve-*  
 “*nice*, of the Schools, Courts,  
 “and Churches of *France*,  
 “of the *Belgick Placaet*, and the Practice not only of  
 “*Spain* and *Germany*, but even *Italy* it self (out of the  
 “Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and the rest of the Pope’s Ter-  
 “ritories) concerning any Propositions relating to the  
 “Deposition of Princes, or any sort of encroachment  
 “upon Supreme Temporal Jurisdiction. And it is strange  
 “that these things should be unknown to a most Learn-  
 “ed Writer, or which is more likely, being known  
 “and present to his thoughts, should not guide his  
 “Pen to express clearly that difference and distinction  
 “which is among those of the *Roman-Catholick* Commu-  
 “nion in these matters.

“The truth is, they who examine that Book of his, see  
 “clearly that in so great variety of Proofs and citations  
 “which it is filled with (only for show and colour, with  
 “respect to the principal End) there is nothing at all, no  
 “not one single Argument which proves the main intent.

“For



"For as much as relates to that, he every where either  
 "supposes what is not true, or assumes what is not to  
 "purpose, or at least not concluding. By the *Roman*  
 "Church he every where means, that *Particular Church*  
 "which is bounded by the Walls of *Rome*, and some  
 "small Dependencies, or at most the *Pope's Temporal*  
 "*Territories* within a part of *Italy*; and yet this Notion  
 "he confounds with, and extends to that Great Body of  
 "all the Churches in the World which any way commu-  
 "nicate with the Pope in Spirituals. He every where  
 "takes a Command of the single Bishop of *Rome* for the  
 "sense and Faith of all the Diocesans, that is, of all the  
 "Faithful subject to him wherever dispersed; and this,  
 "whether the Question be of the *Roman-Particular*, or  
 "*Roman-Universal Church*, which for distinction sake I  
 "here call the *Roman-Catholick Church*. He every where  
 "supposes, and expressly, and often inculcates, that  
 "those Decrees of General Councils which are called  
 "Decrees of *Manners, Reformation, or Discipline*, as like-  
 "wise those of the *Canon-Law*, how exorbitant soever,  
 "with all other Papal decisions, and the *Infallibility* whe-  
 "ther of the *Pope* alone in the first place, or his parti-  
 "cular Church (an *Infallibility* which *Gregory the VII.*  
 "the first of all men that I know, asserted and publisht  
 "in his *Dictates*) are received by all *Roman-Catholicks*  
 "as Oracles of God himself. He every where alledges  
 "Councils as passing for œcumenical among them, which  
 "yet he might see are not ac-  
 "knowledg'd for œcumenical, *Vide Concilia L'Abbe'*  
 "not only not by the famous *S. Cossart.*  
 "*Launoy* in our dayes, but  
 "not heretofore by *Cardinal Pool* himself, and that in a  
 "Synod at *London*. Besides, he pins the disputed Tenets  
 "of any School, nay the Censures and Approbations of  
 "those Divines, who are called Censors or Approvers  
 "of Books, though very few, sometimes but one or  
 "two, upon the *Roman-Catholick Church*, (forsooth)  
 "taken in what sense soever; and, so upon the Univer-  
 "sality of Churches, and all the Men in the World who  
 "Communicate with the Pope. I pass by his citing in  
 "eight or nine several places the seventh Book of Decre-  
 "tals

This Book was compiled and digested into several Books and Titles in imitation of the Body of Decretals of Gregory and Boniface, by Peter Maffeus a Lawyer of Lyons.

tals for *Canon-Law*. A Book which being not to this day Authoriz'd, and so no part of that Law, has no Authority, at least no Law-Authority in any part of the World, not so much as in the Papal Territories in Italy. I likewise pass by the rest of his faults of this na-

ture, whether of greater or lesser moment.

For those two which yet remain and deserve particular Consideration, are of another kind. One is that the most Reverend Author, perceiving the difficulty, indeed the impossibility of fixing his grievous accusation upon the *Roman-Catholick* Religion it self, not to be catch't in his words, and yielding to the fate of a most unjust design, puts in the very Title of his Book, and afterwards in nine or ten places repeats a Caution, which to understanding men is a full Confutation of the whole Book; for as much, I say, as concerns his main drift. Indeed, it shews the Authour himself was wholly diffident of his Charge as it was laid against the *Roman-Catholick* or *Roman Church* Universally taken. For, I see not what else is signify'd by that Reserve [*WHEN, WHERE, IF these things be really believ'd and practis'd*] which from first to last is so cautiously, so industriously, and so often inserted. A man of so great Reading could not be ignorant, both that those mad Principles against which he has reason to be sharp, are not out of the Pope's Temporal Dominions, maintain'd nor tolerated any where by any body except a very few in comparison; and that they are upon occasion forbidden, and publicly condemned in other Nations of the same Ecclesiastical Communion, and so; of the same Christian or *Roman-Catholick Faith*. So far are they from being believed or practis'd by the *Roman-Catholick Church*, properly, that is, Universally taken.

If the most Reverend Authour had, as became a Lover of Truth, clearly and distinctly inform'd his

Reader

“Reader of these things, and minded the Admoni-  
“tion and Promise of God himself in the Prophet,  
“*If you shall separate the precious*  
“*from the Vile, you shall be as my Hierem. 15. 19.*  
“mouth, I know not who would  
“have complain’d. No *Sicilian, Venetian, French-*  
“*man, Fleming, Spaniard or German*, none of those  
“*Irish or English* I mention’d before would do it. All  
“these, tho’ *Roman-Catholicks* of different Nations are  
“as averse as himself from those Doctrines, and look  
“upon them as wicked and impious, for all they are a-  
“betted by the Court of *Rome*, and its followers. Com-  
“plaint certainly out of the mouth of those who abet  
“them would have been shameful, unjustifiable and con-  
“tradictory. As for my self, I see not why a *Catholick*,  
“and in this particular defending *Catholicks*, may not  
“exclude the Masters, Disciples, and Followers of  
“those Falsities, from his defence of *Catholicks*, as *Justin*  
“the *Martyr* heretofore did those impious Men who  
“went under the common name of *Christians*, but  
“were followers of *Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides* and  
“*Saturninus* too. For tho’ these Corrupters of our times  
“teach not the Doctrine of those ancient Hereticks,  
“they teach things both repugnant to the Written  
“Word of God, and Tradition of the Holy Fathers, and  
“altogether blasphemous and impious, and foolish; and  
“this so pertinaciously, that they make a most odious  
“and most dangerous Sect in the *Roman-Catholick*  
“Church it self. Wherefore if the most Reverend Au-  
“thour had, without countenancing the bad times, fallen  
“only upon the Guilty; if he had not involv’d the In-  
“nocent in the same Condemnation; if he had not  
“confounded the Notion of the *Roman-Particular* with  
“the notion of the *Roman-Universal* or *Roman-Catholick*  
“*Church*; if he had not imputed those Principles of his  
“*POPERY*, which are either believed or practis’d in  
“*One*, that is, the particular Church of *Rome*, to *All* the  
“rest of the Churches which Communicate with that  
“Particular, not in those Principles, but in Divine  
“Faith, in Sacraments, Rites, and other lawful, and  
“and honest things; if he had not, without any just  
“cause,

"cause, traduc'd and expos'd to the hatred of Mankind  
 "a vast Body for the sake of a very little part; thou-  
 "sands and Millions of all times and sorts of men for  
 "a number (of Writers) not amounting perhaps to a  
 "hundred; Lastly, if he had but by one single word,  
 "*Separated the precious from the vile*, as was but just in a  
 "Church so widely spread; I should have been so far from  
 "complaining, that, as to those Principles of his  
 "POPERY, the very *Roman-Catholick Church* her self,  
 "taken in the most ordinary signification for the Great  
 "Body of Men communicating with the Bishop of *Rome*,  
 "had agreed intirely with him.

"The other thing which I conceive worthy to be ob-  
 "serv'd is the Cloze more signal than the Work. After  
 "the most Reverend Author had in 125 pages try'd all  
 "manner of wayes to perswade his Reader, that the  
 "Principles or Positions of his Popery, were not Doctrines  
 "of Private or a few Particular Men, but of the *Ro-*  
 "*man-Catholick Church* it self, he shuts up all with  
 "these last lines. [*To conclude*, (sayes he) *if that Priest*  
 "*or Popish Gentleman you mention, who so confidently denies*  
 "*the Church of Rome to approve such Principles as I have*  
 "*laid to her Charge, can either shew that I have misquo-*  
 "*ted the Authors and Books I cite, and that such passages*  
 "*do not occur in the places quoted: Or, if they do occur,*  
 "*that I have mistook their meaning: Or, if neither of*  
 "*these can be shewn, if he can make it appear, That the*  
 "*Church of Rome has by any Publick Act or Declaration,*  
 "*disown'd such pernicious Principles and Positions, and*  
 "*damn'd them as Erroneous, and, what they really are,*  
 "*Impious; I do hereby promise him that I will be (what*  
 "*I hope I never shall be) one of the worst sort of Christi-*  
 "*ans in the World, I mean a Roman-Catholick.*] Where  
 "not to stop at that choyce comparison, or ask, among  
 "the worst Religions which assume the name of *Christi-*  
 "*an*, in what degree of badness, he places *Arianism*, or  
 "*Nestorianism*, *Macedonianism*, *Sabellianism*, *Photinianism*,  
 "or the Blasphemies of the *Italian Socinus*, or *English*  
 "*Quakers* either; and whether he do in earnest think  
 "the *Roman-Catholick* worse than all these which make  
 "a mockery of the Divinity of Christ, and Mystery of  
 "the



"the Trinity: Not to take notice neither of his im-  
 "posing to his power upon the Reader, even to the very  
 "last Line and Word, by the ambiguity of that com-  
 "pounded expreffion, *Roman-Church* and *Roman Catho-  
 "lick Religion*. To pafs over these things, I only Note  
 "at present, That the very Conditions here put, as fair  
 "as they shew, make it appear he continues to the last,  
 "as he begun at first, careless to instruct his Reader  
 "rightly and thoroughly. And, therefore cautiously,  
 "industriously, indeed prudently, forbears to put in  
 "among the rest any Condition which might be to pur-  
 "pose; such a one as this, for example; *Or if any one  
 "can shew that the passages alledg'd, do not fully prove the  
 "point intended; or do not evidently, at least probably, con-  
 "clude, That the Church of Rome, taken in the most ordi-  
 "nary signification, owns these Positions for hers*. His pier-  
 "cing Wit saw very well, that such an offer would put  
 "him to the necessity either of breaking his word, or  
 "embracing a Religion, which he declares to be *The  
 "worst in the World*. But to reflect on these things  
 "at large, as they deserve, shall, perhaps, be for  
 "more leasure, another Place, Time and Language  
 "too.

## Section. X.

SO said I there, as briefly as I could (tho'  
 withal as diffusely  
 too, as the nature of such  
 a Preface, or bounds of

*Præf. Causæ Valesiana,*  
 pag. 5. & sequentibus.

an *Insertion* proper to it, would bear) sum-  
 ming up and animadverting on your Book.  
 And, now (my Lord) besides the same Consi-  
 derations and Conscience that influenc't my  
 Pen at that time, what I can farther plead  
 for giving your Lordship the trouble of these  
 larger Animadversions in *English*, is, that I  
 believed both your Lordship, and others, have  
 expected them ever since you saw me (for the  
 N matter)



\* *Sed hæc pro merito animadvertere, alterius loci, otii atq; temporis, ut alterius etiam Linguae fortassis*

matter) engag'd by the  
\* close of my *Latine* ones,  
to give them.

*crit.* Ibid. pag. 18.

Which before I enter upon, give me leave to assure your Lordship, That, in Writing this Apology (which contains them) 'tis no part of my Design or End, either to hinder, or to reclaim Profelytes. The truth is, that, as I am not my self much taken with the ordinary sort of Profelytes on either side, so I never yet believ'd, that your Lordships foresaid Book of *Principles*, &c. has made any. And God forbid it should; or that any Person whatsoever, Man or Woman, should be so weak as to be mov'd by

Præfat. contra Celsum.

it. [*Absit enim ut inveniat*

*aliquis talem in Christo Jesu Charitatem adeptus, ut Celsi verbis, aut similibus, dimoveatur a proposito.*] So said *Origen* of the Christians of his time, in reference to the Book of *Celsus*: And so must I say here, in relation to your Lordships. God forbid that, among the Faithful, any should be found, having no greater Love for God in *Christ Jesus* our Lord, than that he might be moved from his purpose, by the bare sound of my Lord of *Lincoln's* words. Verily, the great Apostle, in his epistle to the *Romans*, enumerating those things, which ordinarily make such as are but weak in Faith, separate from the Love of God; and which, nevertheless,

less, that Love, where 'tis perfect thro' Christ, victoriously triumphs over, does not recount *Words* among them. For thus he speaks in the 8th. to the *Romans*, the 35th. verse; *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or distress? or persecution? or famine? or nakedness? or peril? or the sword? (As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerors thro' him that loved us.* And then again, verse 38. thus: *For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor Angels; nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come; nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.* Where, amongst all, as *Origen* purposely observes, we find no mention of *Words*. And, therefore, as he did not much congratulate, nor admire (for so himself says he did not) those Christian Readers of *Celsus*, that were not mov'd by his Oratory, how plausible or probable soever his Arguments against their Religion did seem to Heathens; no more do I those *Cath licks* that have not been shaken by your Lordships Book, how strong soever the Discourse of it be thought by some *Protestants* to be.

*Quapropter non ei gratulator qui in Christum credit, si Celsus ejus fidem non potuit concutere, vel ulla sermonis probabilitate.*  
Origen. *supra.*

And yet, for all this, I hope I shall not be so understood as if I were in any manner prejudic'd against the *Church of England Writers*

in general. 'Tis certainly so far otherwise, that I have a very great Esteem for several of them, even where they directly and purposely level all their Force against the very chief Fundamentals of the *Roman School-Theology*; I am sure the very Chief, ever since the Schools themselves began. But they are Authors happy in the Choice of their subjects; peaceable, as to the End of their Writing; clear and full in expressing what they meant. Authors, that give plainly their Positions without any starting-hole secur'd, any destructive reserve inserted, or any such conditional adjection either exprest or understood therein, as might, on occasion, render them of no significancy at all. Authors, that suppose nothing but what they judg'd was undoubtedly true; that, in the judgment of others too, even the most Learned at least of their own Church, assume no improper, no unconcluding *Mediums* any where; nor conclude any thing, other than what their Premises did seem to them to contain. In a word, Authors, wholly estrang'd from all thoughts of deceiving their Reader.

That your Lordship had, in your Book of *Popery*, prov'd your self, in all respects, such an Author, I could heartily wish. But whether you have or no, it will then best appear to the Reader; when he has thorowly perus'd this Answer of mine. Of which, and consequently whether I have Justice on my side or no, in expostulating with your Lordship, that he may the more easily and clearly judge, I think it not amiss, but rather much to purpose, to

to give here now, in the first place, a more ample Scheme, or a fuller and perfecter sum, as to particulars, of your Book, than that I have given already out of the Preface of my *Causa Valefiana*. For this Answer of mine will, without any peradventure, come into many hands that never had, nor perhaps can have your Lordships Book.

Which is the reason that the next following Section is wholly taken up with representing to the Reader, (1.) The *Title*, and *Position* too (as you call it) of that Book; and, consequently, the Subject thereof, as express'd by both, in your own genuine words. (2.) Your true Subject, nevertheless, or true intent and purpose clearly laid open: That is, thoroughly divested as well of your equivocal as conditional representation of it by the Reserves of your said *Title* and *Position*. (3.) All those your Lordship calls the *Popish Principles*, or *Positions* of the *Roman-Church*. (4.) Your manifold *Suppositions* also, of other Doctrines or Tenets, attributed by you to Her, as necessary to fix the former on Her. (5.) The Heads, or brief Summary of all those *Reasons* or *Mediums*, which (in conjunction with those manifold *Suppositions*) you pitch't upon to demonstrate your foresaid onely grand *Position*. (6.) Your Conclusion deriv'd from 'em triumphantly in the close of your Book. And, lastly, your *Challenge* to the *Roman Priest* or *Gentleman* (whether onely fancy'd, or truly on a real ground given you, mention'd by you) and your solemn *Engagement* added, which ends your whole Discourse.



## Section. XI.

(1.) **A**S to the First, there can be no difficulty. The Title you give us in these very words. *Popery: Or the Principles and Positions approved by the Church of Rome (when really believ'd and practic'd) are very dangerous to all, and to Protestant Kings and Supreme Powers, more especially pernicious; and inconsistent with that Loyalty, which (by the Law of Nature, and Scripture) is indispensably due to Supreme Powers.*

What your grand *Position* is, which you undertake to make good, appears in your third Page, as it does also by it self appear to be in substance the very same with that *Title*. For thus you give it in *terminis*; being indeed your beloved, nay, your only *Position* in that whole Book.

Popery, or Positions, Sc. pag. 3. *[The doctrine and Principles of Popery, own'd by the Church of Rome, (when believ'd and practis'd) are not only dangerous, but pernicious to Kings (especially to those who are Protestants) prejudicial to the just Rights of Monarchy; and inconsistent with the Loyalty which (by the Laws of Nature and Scripture) is due to them, and particularly to our Kings, by the Establish'd and known Laws of England, made anciently, even by Popish Kings and Parliaments, against Papal Usurpations and Anti-Monarchical Principles.]*

Where, I cannot but observe, that any judicious knowing Reader may, on consideration especially of your Design, appearing after most evidently, even in the very drift of your whole Book, justly reflect upon, and apply to your  
Lord-



Lordship here that interrogation of God, in reference to *Eliu*, which you may read in the Book of his afflicted Servant, *Job* 32. 2. I am sure you

*Quis est iste involvens  
sententias sermonibus im-  
peritis ? Job 38. 2.*

have been extremely wanting, both in your Title and Position, to instruct the Reader, as you should ; what it is you truly meant, should be the subject of your Book. My Reasons are, (1.) Because those words of yours, *The Principles, Positions, Doctrines*, as here in terms, are *indefinite*, and therefore in sense *Universal* ; according to the known allow'd Rule, that, in a *Doctrinal* matter an *Indefinite* expression is equivalent to an *Universal*. For it is evident, that the matter treated in this whole Book is *Doctrinal*. Whence, it must follow, that by this very Frontispiece of it, you lead the unwary Reader to a perswasion, as if you would say or mean, that universally *All* the Principles of the *Roman Church* are dangerous, and pernicious to Princes, &c. Than which to say or mean, your self must certainly grant, that nothing can be more absurd. Unless, peradventure, you can make it good, that (for example) Prayer for the Dead, or a decent Veneration paid to the Picture of our Crucify'd Lord, or the Invocation of Saints, or Merit of Good Works, or Cælibacy of Priests, or the *Romish* Canon of Holy Scripture, or Distinction of Sins, into Mortal and Venial, or a middle state of Souls in the other Life, or 20. such other Points now controverted betwixt the *Roman*, and *English* Divines of the Reformation ;

mation, are either *Pernicious* or *Dangerous* to the *Sovereignty of Princes*; tho' not so much as indirectly entrenching upon, or any way at all relating to any Temporal thing, much less to Authority or Power.

2. Because your complex term of the *Church of Rome*, without farther addition or explication, is, at least as to the sense of it here, very amphibological or ambiguous. For it may signify either only the *Particular Church* of the City or Diocese of *Rome*, as not comprising other Churches or Dioceses of the Bishop of *Rome's* Communion: Or even That, together with *All* other Churches of His Communion, wherever diffus'd throughout the Earth. And yet, you have not added here so much as one word or syllable to determin *Which*. Whereas, notwithstanding, if you meant only the former, that cannot be to your purpose at all; since you are not ignorant how vast the number is of other *Roman-Catholick* Churches, that, notwithstanding their Communion with that *Particular* one of *Rome* in Faith, Sacraments and other holy Rites, maintain *Principles, Positions, Doctrines*, yea and *Practices* too, in relation to Princes and other Sovereign States, as contrary to those taught by Her, or at least by her Bishops, since the Pontificat of *Gregory* the VII. as any can be. If the latter, Why have not you said so in plain terms without any disguise, and not suspended the Reader till he had run over your whole Book? But you well foresaw, that by dealing so candidly in the Frontispiece of it, all judicious Readers that knew

knew any thing of the World beyond Seas, would certainly, without farther search, not only condemn your undertaking as impossible to be perform'd, but pitty your choyce of a subject that could not prove happy at all to any the most daring undertaker of it. 3. Because you have notwithstanding after both your said Indefiniteness and Ambiguity, added by way of Restriction such an expresse parenthesis as utterly confounds the Reader anew. *When really believed and practised*, sayes your Title, enclosing those words in two semi-circles: and your Position too the very same, only it leaves the word [*Really*] out. Of Which, that is, of so strange a Parenthesis, I must take special notice, the rather; because I see your Lordship so much in love with it; and holding it so necessary for you, that all along your Book, on occasion, \* you carefully and frequently repeat it again; sometimes without any change, sometimes with a plain perplexing [*If*] instead of [*When*] as may be seen here in the margent. Tho' in the mean while, for my life I cannot see either better or other use of it than to serve an understanding Reader for a satisfactory Answer in short to your whole Book. For by both prefixing it so warily in your very Title-Page, and then inserting it in your only Position; and again, after both so frequently repeating it all along to your 103 page inclusively

\* Page 3. p. 35. line ult. p. 52. *If they believe and practise*, twice in the same page. p. 67. *When believ'd and practis'd* p. 58. and believe those errors. p. 103. *If approved and believ'd*.

ly (which is the last saving two of your Book :) what can be more obvious, even to an indifferent capacity, than to answer, that your Lordship does not by any means either positively or absolutely charge any of those wicked Principles on the *Roman Church*, as either actually believed or practised by her; but only Hypothetically or conditionally thus: *If she believe and practise them.* Which is in effect no more to say, than that *She is guilty of them, if she be guilty of 'em.* Nor yet can any thing be more obvious than to add further; that for your Lordship's part you design'd all this Riddle of Ambiguities and conditional reservations, only for time of need: that, in case you were compell'd by plain demonstration of matter of fact to confess that indeed the *Church of Rome*, as comprehending or signifying all Churches of that denomination any where throughout the world, is not chargeable with so much as the Belief or maintenance (in any way or sense) of those wicked Principles; you might nevertheless retire with safety to your said last reserve of both ambiguous and hypothetical expressions. You might say, that, therefore you would not otherwise charge the *Roman-Catholics* in general of all Nations with any of those Tenets. That, because you knew the *Pope* and his Court were guilty of them all, without any contradiction; and the People of *England* in the year 1678. the time of your Writing that Book, were no less willing to be impos'd upon by an extension of the Guilt to all *Catholics* universally; and your self too at the same time

was



was perswaded of the truth of the ~~Most~~ ~~Horri-~~  
~~ble~~ ~~Papish~~ ~~Plot~~; you had thought your self  
 not answerable for the error of the Multitude  
 in understanding your Book; especially, when  
 you writ nothing in it, which taken strictly  
 with all your Ambiguities, Reserves, Condi-  
 tions, was not either very certain, or at least  
 very probably true. Nay, on the contrary you  
 thought it very lawful in this case to say, what  
 a Pope's Legat did sometime, when he saw an  
 infinite number of People crowding and kneel-  
 ing before him every where to get his bene-  
 diction; [*Si populus vult decipi decipiat* : If  
 the People will be deceived, let them be de-  
 ceiv'd.] But how in the interim you can per-  
 swade your self that this extremely forc't eva-  
 sion may be justly pleaded, either at the Barr  
 of your own Conscience, or Tribunal of God or  
 man to excuse you, I must confess I do not  
 see.

2. For what particularly concerns the second  
 Point or Head, 'tis more than manifest enough  
 out of the whole tenour of your Book, out of all  
 your manifold long discourses therein to prove  
 your foresaid only Position, nay out of the sense  
 of all the most judicious Readers of them; that  
 your Lordship would have all men understand,  
 that in very deed your main subject was no other,  
 nor in truth no less, than even the whole *Roman-*  
*Catholick* Church of all Nations impeach't of  
 all those horrid Principles, as *at least believed* by  
 Her. *i. e.* by either an Explicit or Implicit  
 Faith assented unto by all and every one of her  
 true Members universally, as being all of 'em  
 bound



bound there unto by the very Essentials of their Religion. I say, *at least believed*; for I confess your Arguments drive not home at charging Her, diffusively taken, with practising those Antichristian Maxims. Tho' it must be nevertheless granted that, even, as your self does somewhere hint, the Belief of them, and especially such Belief of 'em as your Lordship charges on all *Roman-Catholicks*, will, on one occasion or other exert it self in practise. I am sure your Lordship sayes thus much and somewhat more (p. 67.) where you have these words [*And they who believe such impious Doctrines, act accordingly.*] And, therefore, I cannot imagin why that redundancy of your [*and Practised*] every where in your said parenthesis or conditional Reserve so often as you repeat it, saying [*When really believ'd and practised.*] As if antecedently to all *Practise*, their being believ'd were not dangerous to Kings. Which is so far otherwise, that, were I perswaded the *Roman-Catholick* Church either truly *Diffusive*, or truly *Representative*, did, even without any such Belief, but so much only as admit, approve, maintain, or in any manner defend those Maxims as probable or tolerable: or, could your Lordship prove she did so; I for my part, would find my self obliged to confess that her Principles, Positions or Doctrines (for so many) were truly both *dangerous and pernicious* to the Supreme Temporal Power of Kings. For, certainly, as the malice, so the danger and perniciousness of any Doctrine is to be derived *ex objecto*, from the  
 matter

matter or nature of the Doctrine it self, as it abstracts from any persons either practising or believing it.

3. Now as to those Principles or Positions themselves, (to which not only both your fore-said Title and Position relate, but the whole of your following Book is employ'd to evince them both *Receiv'd* and *Believ'd* by the *Roman-Catholick Church*) tho' you have given them but dispersedly, and (for some part) in a great distance from one another; I have thought fit, for the Reader's ease, to represent 'em all together in this one place; and altho' not all in your order, yet with the Pages of your Book which have 'em exactly quoted, As 1. [pag. 81.] *That the Pope is Supream Monarch of all the World; even in Temporals, at least indirectly and in order to Spirituals.* 2. [p. 82.] *That he has power to Excommunicate, Curse and Damn Kings.* 3. [Ibid.] *To Depose and Deprive them of all their Royal Power and Jurisdiction.* 4. *To absolve their Subjects from all obligations to Fidelity and Obedience.* 5. *To arm their Subjects against their Sovereigns so deposed by Him.* 6. *That this taking up Arms against their King so deposed is no Rebellion.* 7. *That, if in such a War they kill their King, 'tis no Crime, no Homicide, or Murder, but a Meritorious Act.* 8. [p. 82.] *That (to give 'em the highest encouragement to commit all these Villanies which Christians are capable of) they shall be reputed Martyrs, referr'd into the Calendars in Red Letters, and esteem'd great Saints in Heaven, who on earth were known to be Rebels*

to their Prince, and justly executed for Treason. 9. [p. 82.] That not only the Pope, but the Subjects themselves may lawfully depose their Sovereigns, if they be Hereticks. 10. [p. 82.] Nay, that they ought, and (both in Law and Conscience) are strictly bound to depose their Princes if they be Hereticks. 11. [p. 97.] That when and where Popery prevails, all their Bishops swear absolute Obedience to the Pope, and therefore cannot swear it to their Princes too. 12. [p. 92.] That it is unlawful for secular Princes to require any Oath of Fidelity or Allegiance of their Clergy; and, for their Clergy to take any such Oath if it be required. 13. [p. 100. & 103.] That Princes laying any tax on Clergymen, without the Pope's leave are Excommunicated. 14. And without the Pope's leave it is unlawful for the Clergy so much as by way of voluntary Gift or Relief, when the Princes are in want, to give them any help. 15. [p. 103.] That their approv'd and received Principles free their Persons also (be their Crimes never so great) from all punishment by Kings, or any Lay-Court or Magistrate, of what Dignity or State soever. 16. [p. 107.] That the Clergy or Ecclesiasticks are none of the Kings Subjects. 17. [p. 108.] That the Clergy are Superiours to the King, and He their Subject. 18. [p. 113.] And last of all, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, but that any competent Ecclesiastical Judge may condemn and execute Hereticks (or those who are reputed such) notwithstanding any safe conduct given them by the Emperour, Kings or Secular Princes, tho' confirm'd by Oath.

And,

And, indeed, these, and only these, are those Principles, Positions, or Doctrines, to which Your Lordship must be here understood to give the name of *Popery*; and, by your said Title, grand Position, and whole Book following, to charge them on the *Roman Catholick* even Diffusive Church, as part of her most Religious and Sacred Belief; or (which is the same thing) her Faith it self in Christ our Lord. Undoubtedly, too great a number, at least by Seventeen and a half, either to be true in themselves, or truly chargeable on the *Roman Church* diffusively taken, *Pro famosiori significato*; that is, for all the Churches in the Bishop of *Rome's* Communion throughout the Earth.

(4.) Your *Suppositions* too, which you judg'd necessary to ground your main Arguments for proving all the foresaid Eighteen Principles to be approv'd, receiv'd, and believ'd by the *Roman-Catholick Church*, tho' you give them only dispersedly, some here, and some there, in several places of your Book; I nevertheless represent here together: that the Reader may, with the less trouble judge of your super-structure by this most essential part of the main Foundation that supports it. For, without any Proof, so much as attempted, you suppose the foresaid *Roman-Catholick Church*, in her whole Diffusive latitude, believes. (1.) [Page 31.36.&c.] That the Pope is the Supream Judge under Christ in her: and this, [pag. 115.] even to the degree of Absolute Superiority in Him over General Councils themselves. (2.) [*Ibidem.*] That he is Infallible in all his Definitions



finitions, Doctrines and Decrees. 3. [p. 81.] That He is such, *in rebus Facti & Fidei*, even in those very Decisions or Judgments that concern matter of *Fact* only. 4. [p. 105.] That all his Canons, Decretals, Rescripts, Bulls, Commands, are without opposition or examination, out of blind obedience to be observ'd. 5. [p. 41. and 42.] The very same of General Councils, as to their infallibility, and the obedience due to them. 6. [p. 51. and 101.] That not only those Decrees or Canons of General Councils, which by way of distinction are call'd *Decrees* or *Canons* of *Faith*, but the other also which expressly go by the name of *Decrees* of *Manners*, *Discipline*, and *Reformation*, must be without contradiction both receiv'd and believ'd as true, right, and just, by all the National Churches, by all Persons of her Communion. 7. [p. 44. &c.] That all those eighteen, which *Bellarmin* has given us for General Councils, are truly such, or as such receiv'd by Her. 8. [p. 28.] That all whatsoever is contain'd in that Body of Ecclesiastical Western Laws, which in opposition to the Civil or Imperial, is call'd *Pontifical*, *Papal*, or *Canon-Law*; all, whatsoever is any where declar'd, prescrib'd or enjoyn'd either in the *Decree* of *Gratian*, or *Decretals* of *Gregory* the IX. or *Sixth* of *Boniface* the VIII. or *Clementins* of *Clemens* the V. or *Extravagants* (whether *Common* or *Proper*) of *John* the XXII. must be, as Rules of Justice betwixt Party and Party, receiv'd in all her Tribunals; and not only receiv'd as such, but farther, by all Persons

sons believ'd as undoubtedly true and just.  
 9. [p. 36, 37, 47, 60, 109, 110, 111.] That the work compos'd by *Petrus Maffens*, a Canonist of *Lyons*, Because bearing the Title (tho' only given by himself) of *Liber Septimus Decretalium*, and lately by Printers or Book-sellers annex't in the same Volume to the fore-said Body of Canon-Law, is truly a part of it, and of the same Authority with it; and may be justly quoted, under the proper name of that very Canon-Law as such.  
 10. [p. 41, 62, 102.] That *Bulla Cœne*, as obliging all Churches and Nations, either ought to be, or is however submitted to by all Nations of that Communion.

Such indeed, and so many at least (Ten in all) are the Suppositions, which without any kind of Proof of any of them, so much as once attempted by your Lordship to fix the Belief of them on the *Roman-Catholick* Church, either Diffusive or Representative, run along in several places of your Book. Tho' nevertheless you do and must rely on some of them, especially those which concern the Pope and General Councils, as absolutely necessary to ground all your main Arguments; and on the rest of them too as no less material for supporting your other Proofs. However, I must confess 'twas prudently done (according to the Prudence of this World) to lay the most specious likely Fundamentals you could to support those Arguments and Proofs, which would signifie nothing without them; certainly nothing at all unless you had first impos'd on your Reader,

O

that

that the *Roman-Catholick* Church of all Nations must believe what your Lordship is pleas'd to suppose she does.

5. For, notwithstanding you make it your whole business in a 112 Pages (that is, from page 2. to the very last but two, of your Book) to give your Proofs of all sorts for the evidencing the truth of your foresaid Grand or only *Position*; yet, who reads them attentively will find that the Sum and Strength of all your Mediums, Premises, or Antecedents, is composed, (1.) Of a number of *Roman-Catholick* private Authors, some of 'em Canonists, some Divines, who have either expressly, in their own Books, maintain'd, or, consequentially, by their Approbation of other mens Works, approved, even of the very worst of those nefarious Principles you charge on the Belief of all *Roman-Catholicks* universally. (2.) Of a number of Popes, and Papal exorbitant Bulls, authorizing the very *practice* of such horrible Positions. (3.) Of a number of Texts, produc't out of the Canon-Law it self. (4.) And chiefly, of some, either true, or pretended Authorities, drawn out of some of those, which, in imitation of *Bellarmin*, your Lordship would have reputed General Councils of that Church: Tho' in the mean while, there is not one of those very Authorities of Councils, that is so much as pretended to be drawn out of any of those we call Decrees or Canons of *Faith*.

And, in truth, for the first sort of those Arguments, I must confess, that, partly to prove in general, that many of the Popish Principles,  
and

and generally approv'd and receiv'd Opinions, are inconsistent with the just Sovereignty and Supremacy of Kings; and partly, to instance particularly in that of the *Deposing Power*, which is the Fountain-head of all the rest, you have alledg'd one or two and Twenty Writers, that is, private Authors of that Church, who, as above, (from page 8. to page 27.) either professedly maintain, or otherwise approve those evil Doctrines. For, to that purpose it is, that you have quoted, by name, Cardinal Pool, Azor, Blasius Bagnus, Joannes Andreas, Hostiensis, Gloss. ad cap. unam Sanctam. Also, Gloss. ad Proæmium Clement. Also, Gloss. ad cap. cum inter de verb. signif. Also, Gloss. in cap. sollicitæ. extra. de major. & obed. Bellarmin, Sa, Suarez, Mariana, Turrecremata, Celsus Mancinus, Gaspar Scioppius, Card. Baronius, Jacobus Simanca, Alphonsus a Castro, Arias Montanus, Philippus Mainardus and Stanislaus Orichovius.

Where I must observe, that after quoting Celsus Mancinus, particularly for the *Deposing Power* (page 20.) and telling us (page 21.) how he speaks expressly of an innumerable number of *English Martyrs*, following their Captain Edmund Campian; Your Lordship (page 21.) has given us a very singular Animadversion in these words; So that we may see the Doctrine of the Popes Power to Depose Princes, must be de fide, An Article of Divine Truth, and they Martyrs, who die in defence of it; for Campian is with them a most famous Martyr. And so, indeed, your Lordship sayes

O 2

here;



here ; and so again (page 32.) you repeat the very same thing in other, yet more emphatical words, viz. *This impious doctrine and position, That the Pope may depose Kings, is become a necessary part of their Creed (and no Salvation without the belief of it) to which, all their Secular Clergy, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and whoever has any cure of Souls, and all their Regulars (at least the Heads and Governours of them) are solemnly sworn.*

For the second sort of Proofs, those, I mean, derived from the Canon-Law, you quote [p. 28, 29. 34.] not onely, out of the *Decree of Gratian, cap. Authoritatem, caus. 15. q. 6. cap. Alius. cap. Nos Sanctorum,* and *cap. Juratos ead. caus. & q.* Nor only [pag. 36.] out of the *Decretals of Gregory cap. Sollicita, de major. & obed. and cap. Gravem. de poenis ;* but also out of the *Common Extravagants, cap. Unam Sanctam. de major. & obed.* Besides Eighteen Canons more in the *Margent* of the 36th. page, which I shall consider in their due place.

For your third sort of Arguments, you alledge the Bull of *Pius* the V. against Queen *Elizabeth* ; the Excommunication and Deposition of *Henry* the IV. the Emperor, by Pope *Hildebrand* ; of *Frederick* the II. by *Gregory* the IX. and *Innocent* the IV. of our *Henry* the VIII. by *Paul* the III. and of all Heretical Kings, Princes, &c. both by *Bulla Cana*, and another more special Bull of *Paul* the IV.

For the Fourth, your last and strongest sort of

of Proofs, you bring [p. 42.] the now famous Third Canon of the Great Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the III. and the sentential deposition of the Emperor *Frederick* the II. by *Innocent* the IV. in that which you call the General Council of *Lyons*.

Such as these (and no other besides a few Instances of Practices and Plots, (from page 68. inclusively to page 73.) are the Arguments your Lordship brings to fix the *believing* of the Pope's Universal Monarchy, omnipotency, deposing Power, and, consequently, of all the former Eight of those Principles, on all *Roman-Catholicks* whatsoever, as Articles of their Faith, and a necessary part of their Creed, and no Salvation without the Belief of them. Tho' in the mean while it must be confest, that to prove, That the *Roman* Church, in her diffusive latitude, believes those to be Martyrs, who suffer Death for maintaining these Principles, you alledge no more but the bare Encomiastick Praises of *Campion* and *Garnet* after their Deaths, by two of their own Order, *Parsons* an *English* Man, and *Ribadeneira* a *Spaniard*. As no more do you any kind of Authority, any Proof at all for that part of the seventh Position, where 'tis said, That *The Killing of a deposed King is a meritorious Act*. Any thing or nothing serves your Lordships turn, when your Zeal prompts you to render *Roman-Catholicks* odious.

But I proceed, in like manner, to the Sum of those Proofs also, that serve your Lordship, to fix and pin upon the Belief of all *Roman-Catholicks*,

licks, even every one apart of the remaining Positions.

Therefore, to perswade your Reader, they believe what is, by the ninth and tenth Principle, charged upon them, viz. *That even the Subjects themselves may not onely depose their Sovereigns, if they be Hereticks; but ought, and both in Law and Conscience are strictly bound to Depose 'em, being such; you quote [page 83.] Creswel, in his Philopater, Bellarmin de Rom. Pontif. and Mariana de Regis Instit.* Three Jesuits, the first an *English Man*, the second an *Italian*, and the last a *Spaniard*. Nor do you give any better, or other Evidence, for these two Articles of your Charge, how weighty soever they be.

To prove they believe it unlawful, both for *Sesular Princes to require any Oath of Allegiance, or Fidelity of the Clergy, and for the Clergy to take any such Oath, however requir'd of them; you produce [page 92. & 93.] the forty-third Canon of the Great Lateran Council under Innocent the III. and its being inserted by Gregory the IX. in the Canon-Law, cap. Nimis. extra. de Jurejurando.*

To prove, that *When and Where Popery prevails, all their Bishops swear absolute Obedience to the Pope, and therefore cannot swear it to their Princes too; you alledge [page 79. & 99.] the Roman Pontifical, de consecratione Electi in Episcopum; as also the Canon-Law, cap. Ego. extra. de Jurejurando.*

To prove it their Belief, that *All their Ecclesiasticks are exempted from paying any Tax on*  
Con-

*Contribution to Secular Princes, without the Popes leave; nay, that 'Tis unlawful for them otherwise to pay or give any, so much as by way of a voluntary free benevolence or aid; and that the Princes requiring or imposing any on them are Excommunicate; you vouch (page 100, 101, 102.) not only the Casuist Fillucius, and the Canonist Panormitanus, and the Canon-Law it self, cap. Non minus. and cap. Adversus. Extra. de Immunit. Ecclesiarum, and the Bulla Cœne too; but even two General Councils; the Lateran under Innocent the III. Can. 46. and the Tridentin, Sess. 25. cap. 20. de Immunitate Eccles. and again, in Forma Professionis Fidei; which is indeed, as you say, in the end of that Session; but yet no part of it, or any other Session, being it is onely an Additional Bull of Pius the Fourth.*

To prove the 15 Article of your charge, that *Their approved and received Popish Principles, free the persons of all Clergy-men (be their Crimes never so great) from all punishment, by Kings, or any Lay-court, or Magistrate, of what State or Dignity soever. You again produce (page 103.) for Witness, the same Fillucius, and Bulla Cœne, and the Canon-Law, caus. 17. q. 4. cap. Si quis suadente Diabolo. and cap. Nullus Judicium. extra. de Foro compet. and consequently three Popes, Innocent the II. Gregory the IX. and Gregory the XIII. Besides, you plead even a Council of Paris, and the second General Synod of Lateran, under the foresaid Innocent the II. cap. 15. yea, and the Tridentin Fathers too, Sess. 24. de Reform.*



cap. 5. and Sess. 13. de Reform. cap. 8. Nay, you add moreover, what *All their Ecclesiasticks* (say you) do promise, vow, and also swear, *In Forma Professionis Fidei*, in *Bulla Pii 4. in calce. Sess. 25.*

To Prove your Charge in the 16<sup>th</sup>. and 17<sup>th</sup>. Positions, that *The Clergy and Ecclesiasticks*, are none of the Kings subjects; nay, that the Clergy are Superiour to the King, and He their Subject; You alledge [pag. 107, 108, 109, 110.] (promiscuously for both parts) the Lemma (as you call it) or the Title of cap. *Sollicita. extra. de major. & obed.* and *Innocent the III.* in that Chapter, and then *Panormitanus* upon it, and *Bernardus de Botano's* Gloss of it, and *Laurentius de Flisco's* addition to him. And after them *Martin*, the 5<sup>th</sup>. cap. *Ad reprimendas. de For. comp.* in 7°. and the Lemma of this Chapter, and *Urban* the sixth cap. *Quia, de For. comp.* 7°. And then after all, *Leo the X.* in his General Council of *Lateran*; as may be seen, not only in cap. *Et quia. de For. comp.* but cap. *Statuimus. de Invasor. & occupator. bon. Eccles.* in 7°. Besides you alledge, *Card. Cajetan in Aquinatem*, and the Colledge of *Bononia*, in their Answer for Ecclesiastical Liberty, Printed at *Bononia Anno 1617.*

Lastly, to Prove the Charge of the 18<sup>th</sup>. or last of those Positions, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, but that any competent Ecclesiastical Judge may condemn and execute them (or those who are reputed such) notwithstanding any safe conduct, given them by the Emperor, Kings or secular Princes, tho' confirm'd by Oath; you relye

rely [p. 103, 104.] on the Authority of the General Council of *Constance*, Sess. 19. and 20. in the Condemnation of *Hierem of Prague*; and Sess. 15. in the sentence given against *John Huss*; and where moreover the Fathers of that Council decree, that all Hereticks, and their Followers, Defenders, Favorers, &c. Of what Dignity soever, tho' Kings, Queens, Dukes, &c. shall be *Excommunicated and Deprived of all their Goods and secular Dignities.*

And thus, having run over, as briefly as I could, the Heads of your Proofs of all sorts, without omitting one, it will be no great exorbitancy to add to this very last of 'em what follows immediately in your Lordships own words. *This* (say you, [p. 114.] meaning the 18th. Position with its Proof) in *This* is their impious Doctrine and Principle, and, in Praxi, they are now endeavouring to put it in execution here in England; as evidently appears by their Popish and Hellish Conspiracy, by the gracious and powerful Providence of Heaven lately and happily discovered.

6. What's next in order to be represented, is your Conclusion by your self deduc't out of all the aforesaid Proofs. 'Tis to be found partly in your 112. page, partly in your 114, and 115. where you give it thus at large:

"The Premises impartially consider'd, I think two things may and will evidently follow: First, that the Principles and Positions before-mention'd, are not only dangerous, but pernicious to all *Supreme Powers*; especially to Protestant Kings and Princes. 2. That the aforesaid Popish Principles are not the private Opinions of some particular Persons only; seeing, 1. They  
"are

“are profess and vindicated by the Jesuits, Canonists,  
 “and generally by other *Great Writers* of that Church,  
 “in their Books Publish’t with the *Approbation* and Com-  
 “mendation of *Authority*. 2. Establish’t in their ap-  
 “prov’d and Receiv’d *Canon-Law*. 3. In the Authen-  
 “tick *Decretal Epistles* and *Papal Constitutions*. 4. In  
 “their *General Councils*; those, I mean, which they  
 “acknowledg to be *General*. 5. (And to say no more)  
 “All their Clergy and Ecclesiasticks (who have place in  
 “those Councils) have taken a *Solemn Oath* to maintain  
 “all those *Canons* and *Papal Constitutions*: and this Oath

\* Conc. Trid. Sess.  
 24. cap. 12.

† Pius 4. in forma  
*Furamenti*.

|| Conc. Florent. in De-  
*creto Unionis*.

“requir’d and taken by the  
 “Authority and Command of  
 “the \* *Council of Trent*, and  
 “† the Pope, who is acknow-  
 “ledg’d to be their || *Supream*  
 “Judge; and (since the Coun-  
 “cils of *Pisa*, *Constance* and  
 “*Basil*) declared by Pope *Leo*  
 “the X. and his *Lateran* Council (which they account a  
 “General Council) to be above all *General Councils*;  
 “and this Declaration (that all may know it is Law  
 “and Obligatory) hath late-

\* Cap. Pastor. cap.  
*Sicut*, & cap. *Benedictus*.  
*extra. de Conciliis* in 7<sup>o</sup>.

“ly been *Referr’d into the Body*  
 “of their *Canon-Law*. \* Now  
 “these things being undeni-  
 “ably true, That their Popes  
 “and General Councils (the *Supream Authority* of their  
 “Church) have approved and received the foresaid  
 “Principles and Positions; and caused their Ecclesiasticks  
 “solemnly to swear that they do *Believe*, and will con-  
 “stantly profess them; and (as far as they are able)  
 “make all committed to their charge, do so too; it evi-  
 “dently follows, that they are *Roman-Catholick Doctrines*,  
 “own’d and approv’d by their Church, and not only by  
 “private or particular Persons.]

Hitherto in your own words, without additi-  
 on or diminution of a syllable; being what your  
 Lordship has inferr’d out of so many long Dis-  
 courses and such heaps of Quotations crouded  
 together

together in your Margents all along for a *Hundred and Twelve* Pages, that go before this Inference. Nor indeed have you been wanting at all to the like replenishing with a Prodigious number of marginal Notes, even the aforesaid very last Pages 113, 114, 115. which contain it; altho' I have given of them but a few, and that according to your own references of them to the margin.

7. As to your *Challenge* and *Engagement* which end your Book, tho' I have given both before out of my *Causa Valesiana*; yet not to give my Readers the trouble of turning so far back, and because the passage is but short, I repeat it here. For, after you had immediately joyn'd to your foresaid material, final Grand Inference, this Corollary of remark; *So that if any (who knows and has impartially consider'd the Premises) deny it, (viz. Your Inference, or that all the aforesaid Principles and Positions are Roman-Catholick Doctrines, own'd and approv'd by their Church) I shall not call him Impudent, but I may (and must) say he has a hard fore-head, and a little thing will not make him blush;* You proceed thus.

[“To conclude, if that Priest, or Popish Gentleman (you mention) who so confidently denies the Church of *Rome* to approve such Principles as I have laid to her charge, can either shew: 1. That I have misquoted the Authors and Books I cite, and that such passages do not occur in the places quoted. 2. Or, (if they do occur) that I have *mistook their meaning*. 3. Or, (if neither of those can be shewn) if he can make it appear, that the Church of *Rome* has (by any Publick Act or Declaration) disown'd such pernicious Principles and Positions, and damn'd them as Erroneous



“ous and (what they really are) Impious; I do hereby promise him, that I will be (what I hope I never shall be) one of the worst sort of Christians in the World; I mean a *Roman-Catholick*.

And, so, with a Farewel to the nameless Person of Honour who desir'd your sense of the ~~Horrible Popish~~ Plot, and of the *Roman-Catholicks* Plea in their own excuse, you end your Book in answer to his Letter. And so do I this Scheme thereof; which to inform the Reader, I thought fit to give in the *first place* here; as hitherto I have done throughout this Eleventh Section, divided into seven Capital Numbers.

### Section. XII.

**I**N the next place, I think it also but reasonable, before I enter on the material Points of my Answer, to let the Reader know particularly: 1. Wherein I agree with your Lordship. 2. Wherein I disagree. For, undoubtedly, as a disagreement in some material Points must be presum'd, not only out of what is said already, but out of the very nature of an Expostulatory Address or Answer: so, an Agreement to all the Truths in your Book, so far as I can see them to be such, may be justly expected from one of my Principles. Nor will I, nor can I deny, but there are many such in it: [*Non enim possumus aliquid adversus veritatem, sed pro veritate.*] For we can do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth. So said the Apostle of himself, Writing to the *Corinthians* [13. 8.]; and so must I say of my self addressing to your Lordship. Nor shall any

any regard whatsoever, no not of disadvantage arising thence to the *Domesticks of Faith*, make me disacknowledge what I hold to be true and just in the very greatest Adversaries writings. And therefore

I. I agree with your Lordship in your Censure of all and every of those eighteen, which you call *Popery*, or *Popish Principles and Positions*; as being those which only are meant both in your Title-Page and your own only \* Position; and consequently those which (as extracted out of several places of your Book) I have already given together in the—page of my Answer to it. In your Censure of them all, I perfectly agree; That is, I confess them to be not only dangerous but pernicious to Kings (*Protestants especially*) prejudicial to the just Rights of Monarchy, and inconsistent with that Loyalty which by the Laws of Nature, and Scripture, is due to them; and particularly to our Kings by the establisht and known Laws of England, made anciently even by Popish Kings and Parliaments against Papal Usurpations & Anti-monarchical Practices. Nay, I confess you do not indeed mis-call or mis-name them, neither by the Substantive *Popery*, nor Adiective Epithet *Popish*: for they and only they, collectively taken, make up that very Systeme of false Tenets, which in any true proper sense may be called *Popery*, or styl'd *Popish*; because all or mostly all the other Doctrines and Principles of the Papal Court, or particular Church of Rome, wherein she, with other Churches of

the

\* See the Title-Page, and only Position of his Book. p. 3.

the Pope's Communion, differs from the present Protestant Church of *England*, are common to the Greek and other *Oriental, Northern and Southern Churches*; which have had no Communion with *Rome*, or its Bishop, the Pope, not even these 800 years past, but have remain'd all that long while under his Excommunication, as he under theirs. And surely, there's no Ingredient of *Popery*, truly such, in the Doctrines of those Churches that have for so many Ages perpetually defy'd him; and yet at the same time continu'd their own former Doctrines, as likewise their own former Practices of them all that while; and yet have not continu'd either of them upon the account of having received them from the Pope; and, consequently, have not adher'd to him in any thing, much less unduely adher'd to him. For in the bad, but proper notion or meaning of this word [*Popery*] I take it to be *An undue ad-*

† See the *Considerations about the true way of suppressing Popery in this Kingdome.* pag. 2.

*hesion to the Pope in Principles or Practices falsely pretended to be Christian* †.

And such I must acknowledge those 18. Articles of your charge to be; that is, *falsly pretended to be Christian*. Which if it peradventure be more than your Lordship expected from me, I can assure you 'tis however no more than I constantly held, and upon all occasions have asserted as true, at least these seven or eight and twenty years past, ever since I devoted myself to the serious consideration and study of such matters.

(2.) I agree with your Lordship in all you say [p. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.] to be the *Jura Corona*, or the *Rights and Prerogatives of the Imperial Crown* of England, as to our present Concern.

(3.) I agree with you, that many of the fore-said Principles (which you call Popish) are *not only dangerous, but destructive and inconsistent with the just Sovereignty and Supremacy of Kings*, for the reason you give, [p. 8.] viz. that according to them, *All Kings and Emperours are so far from being Supream, that they are subject to the Pope as to their Superior Lord, to whom they owe service and fidelity*. Nor will I quarrel with you at all about your contents [p. 9, 10, 11.] of the Book call'd *Ceremoniale Romanum*; or the Practice of those Ceremonies prescrib'd therein for the reception of Emperours and Kings by the Pope, his carriage to them, and their extreme Submission to him.

(4.) I agree so far to your Quotations of private Authours for the same Principles, that altho' I have compar'd none of them, I will not question any, but suppose 'em all to be true; as otherwise knowing there might be alledg'd to the same purpose many more than you have. Tho' at the same time, I must say, that your *Thousand Books* [p. 8.] nay, your *Hundred* [p. 25.] needs the allowance of a Figurative Hyperbolical Speech.

(5.) For the Canon-Law, and Papal, either Rescripts or Decretals contain'd therein, or other Bulls quoted by you, partly out of the *Bullarium Cherubini*, and partly out of that which goes by the name of *Liber Septimus Decretalium*,



*cretalium*, I confess a great many of them, especially those Bulls deposing the Emperors *Henry* the IV. and *Frederick* the II. our *Henry* the VIII. and Queen *Elizabeth*; as likewise the Bull of *Paulus Quartus*, against all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, are plainly for the very worst and most dangerous of all those Principles: And, consequently, that you have, in several places of your Book, rightly quoted for 'em *Gregory* the VII. *Honorius* the III. *Gregory* the IX. *Innocent* the III. *Innocent* the IV. *Paul* the III. *Sixtus* the V. and *Pius* the V. in all, eight Popes: Nay, that, if you had moreover quoted for them (as you have not) *Paulus* the V. *Urbannus* the VIII. and *Alexander* the VII. besides many others before them, I should not much boggle at it. Tho' after all, I do not understand; (1.) Your quoting *Liber septimus Decretalium*, as Canon-Law; and this at least in seven several places and pages of your Book, viz. pag. 36, 37. 47. 60. 109. 110, 111. 'Tis hard to conceive, but you must know, that that Work was only the Compilation of a private Man, by name, *Petrus Maffeus*, a Canonist of *Lyons*; and never yet Canoniz'd or Authoriz'd for Law, by any Pope, or as such receiv'd or read in any School. And you were much mistaken, if you thought no Reader would take notice of your design in so doing; which was manifestly this, to increase your Quotations of the Canon-Law, and throw more dirt upon it. Nor, 2. Can I understand why you should so many times, I am sure at least in three  
or

or four divers places, repeat a very large Marginal quotation of *Gregory the XIII.*'s new, and last, and best-corrected Edition of the Canon-Law, to entitle Him (forsooth) to the approbation of every particular Chapter therein. As if (for example) the King of *Spain* or *France*, or even any lesser, either Prince or Prelate, authorizing or commanding a more exact or correct Edition of any Work, must be concluded therefore to *approve*, or so much as *know*, every particular passage contain'd in it. However, you have, by this Art, dextrously hook't in this *Gregory the XIII.* (for so indeed you have him in several places) among the number of those Popes that authoriz'd the Usurpation of those *Popish* Principles you were upon. Tho' in the mean while, you needed not him to make the number swell. And in in case you had, who doubts, but his employing *Sanders*, to *Ireland*, with Arms and Men, and a Consecrated Banner, and Legantine Power, had been a much clearer Evidence of his Association in those Principles, with so many other Popes, than his Authorizing, by a Bull, the *Most correct Edition* of the Canon-Law? Nor (3dly.) do I understand what moved your Lordship to heap together, in the *Margent* of your 36. page, at least eighteen or nineteen Chapters out of *Gratian*, the *Decretals*, and *Sixth* of *Bonifac.*, &c. (besides three more of your own beloved *Liber septimus Decretalium*) of which, but too many shall appear hereafter not to have one word to your purpose. Was it to fright the curious Reader

from Examining your Quotations, by seeing them rank't together in such a formidable number? Or, Was it only to gain an easier belief from your credulous Readers, by such a flourishing shew of Canon-Law places? However, I agree that some few of them are not wholly impertinent; which therefore shall, together with the rest, be considered in their turn.

(6.) I agree, that, by your alledging (*pag. 42.*) the Great Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent* the III. and the General Council of *Lyons* (as you call it) under *Innocent* the IV. to make the Tenet of the Papal Deposing Power an Article of Faith to all *Roman-Catholicks*, you have done no more than what the Forrein Jesuits, *Bellarmin* against *William Barclay*, and *Lessius* (under the name of *Singletonus*) against *Widdrington*; and last of all, the Domestick *English* Author of the first of those three *English* Treatises call'd *The Loyalty of the Jesuits*, against the Defenders of the *Oath of Allegiance* and the *Irish Remonstrance*, had done before you; some of them long since, and the last of them no longer ago than 1677. For so they all insist upon those two General Councils (as your Lordship is pleas'd to call them) and to the very self-same end of making the Papal Deposing Power *de fide*, or a Point of Faith: How rationally we shall see anon.

(7.) I agree nevertheless, that your Discourse [p. 84, &c.] sufficiently proves, That the Decree of the Council of *Constance. Sess. 15.*  
con-

condemning as *Scandalous, Erroneous, and Heretical*, the Proposition which begins *Quilibet Tyrannus*, or the *Thesis* defended at *Paris*, by *Joannes Paruus*, in favour of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and excuse of the Murther committed on the Person of the Duke of *Orleans*, can be no sufficient Answer in behalf of *Catholicks*, to evince, That the Church of *Rome* has by any publick Act or Declaration authoritatively disown'd all those pernicious Principles and Positions, or so much as those in particular of the Deposition, and Assassination of Kings, with which you Charge her. For indeed, it must be confest, That, tho' *Gerson* mightily urg'd the Fathers of that Council to enlarge their Censure, so as there might be no latitude left for any to reply or animadvert upon it, they, notwithstanding, continu'd immoveable in their first Resolution; which was, to confine themselves only to such a Censure as the Proposition or Thesis of *Paruus*, or the Condemnation of it, did require of them. And therefore, having first laid down that Proposition of *Paruus*, in his own proper words, viz. [*Quilibet Tyrannus potest & debet licite & meritorie occidi per quemcunq; vassallum suum, vel subditum, etiam per clanculares insidias, & subtiles blanditias vel adulationes, non obstante quocunq; prestito Juramento seu confederatione factis cum eo; non expectata sententia vel mandato Judicis cujuscunq;*] They censure and condemn it in this manner, and in these very words. [*Adversus hunc errorem satagens sancta Synodus insurgere*



& ipsum funditus tollere, præhabita deliberatione matura, declarat, decernit & definit hujusmodi doctrinam Erroneam in Fide & Moribus, ipsamq; tanquam Hereticam, scandalosam, & ad fraudes, deceptiones, mendacia, proditones, perjuriam vias dantem, reprobatur & condemnat. Declarat insuper, decernit & definit quod pertinaciter doctrinam hanc perniciosissimam asserentes sunt Heretici; &, tanquam tales, juxta Canonicas sanctiones puniendi.] Which I think sufficiently censures and condemns that Proposition or Thesis in terminis. Besides, let me tell your Lordship, That the Judge, intended or meant there by Joannes Parvus, was neither Pope nor General Council, but the King of France, or Parliament of Paris; as may be seen plainly enough by his own Nine Reasons alledged for it. So that, were it my business, I could observe several particulars in that very Discourse of yours, that needed Animadversion. But it is not; and, therefore, I remit the curious Reader for clearer Instruction

*Historia Conc. Generalium* l. 2. c. 3. Sess. 15.  
*Concil. Constantiensis.*

in this matter, not only to that most excellent History of the General Councils, written by the never-sufficiently-prais'd Edmundus Richerius, the Light of Scrven, both in his own time, and ever since; but also to Spondanus ad An. 1415. numb. 47, 48, 49, & 50.

(8.) I agree particularly in that which you deliver [p. 70.] of Father Parsons, the Jesuits having written a Book to prove what was evidently untrue (and he could not chuse but know it)

it) that King James had no just Title to the Crown of England; tho' the whole Right of the Saxons and Normans, and of the Houses of York and Lancaster, were intirely and evidently united in him.

(9.) I agree to what your Lordship sayes, [p. 52.] and to all your Proofs thereof, in several pages following, That Such impious, traiterous, and damnable Doctrines, are on a double account very dangerous, and pernicious to all (especially Protestant) Kings, Princes, and their People and Subjects; 1. In point of Conscience, and in respect of their Souls and Salvation, if they believe and receive such impious Positions and Principles. 2. In point of Civil Prudence, in respect of their Persons, Honours, and Estates, if they receive them not.

(10.) I farther agree, That The Original [pag. 53.] Error from which the rest follow, is that vast Supremacy which the Pope (as Peter's Successor) challengeth; and, when he has ability, usurps over Kings.

(11.) Lastly, I agree that all and every of the very last seven of those eighteen Positions, which you Charge on all Roman-Catholicks, as Their received Doctrines and Principles, [pag. 52.] where-ever believ'd, as your Lordship delivers them, will ever be prejudicial to Princes, and to the Peace and Quiet of their Subjects and Dominions.

So many are the Points of your Book, I agree with your Lordship in; and I could wish, I might in twice as many. But, since no more occur at present, I proceed to those

in which I must disagree. Which, were I willing to multiply on every occasion you give in that Book, I could mind your Lordship: (1.) How, after saluting your Reader, [p. 1.] with *An Inhuman and Bloody Design, and Popish-Plot, a Traiterous and Roman-Catholick Conspiracy*, you presently add [p. 2.] to exaggerate the matter yet farther; that, *In Story, it has no parallel impiety, unless perhaps, the Bloody French-Massacre, or the Gun-powder Treason, all Contriv'd, and carryed on by men of the same desperate Principles, and to Advance the Papal Interest.* (2.) How, in the same page, you take the advantage given by a silly Pamphlet, printed at London, An. 1662. under the name of *Calendarium Catholicum*, where the *Gun-powder Treason* is called *Cecil's Contrivance*; and make that use of the Pamphleteer's, either Blind Zeal, or Affected Ignorance, as to turn it to an Argument, to perswade your Reader, That, *As the Plots and Conspiracies of the Roman-Catholick Party, so their Impudence to deny or lessen them (when discover'd) is monstrous, and (were not their Persons and Principles known) incredible.* (3.) How, because the said *Almanack*, truly sayes; That, *There were but very few of that Religion (and those Desperadoes too) detected of it, &c. all sober Catholicks detesting it, and all such Conspiracies*: Your Lordship would needs, in opposition hereunto, [p. 3.] give out of *Ribadeneira, Bzovens, and Parsons*, a Marginal Note, whereby the Reader might be induced to believe, That *Roman-Catholicks* reck'on those

Gun-

*Gun-powder* Traytors, amongst the *Eminent Martyrs* for their Religion and Church. (4.) How strangely you have Conjur'd up [p. 72, 73.] two ~~Popish Plots~~ against the Life of the late King *Charles*, of happy Memory; one Reveal'd by *Andreas ab Habernfeld*, the other by *P. du Moulin*, in his Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*. (5.) How positively, without any doubt or scruple, you say in the same place, That, *In Ireland the Popish Conspirators Murder'd above a hundred thousand Protestants in cold blood, without any provocation given, but to Kill Hereticks, and thereby promote the Catholick Cause.* (6.) How much more strangely yet, speaking of the Popish Party in general, and later times, you tell us [p. 79.] That (*Notwithstanding all obligations to Obedience and Gratitude*) even since his Majesties happy Return, the Popish Party have carry'd on their Plots and Conspiracies against their Gracious Prince, and Establish't Religion, and the Peace of our Church and State, with as much Industry, and Impiety, as formerly. Which now evidently appears by their impious Conspiracy, by the Blessing of God, very happily, tho' lately Discover'd.

(7.) How, to prove home this heavy dreadful Charge against them, besides telling us, [p. 82.] That (in the Proclamation for Banning all Papists Ten Miles from *London*, dated *Octob. the 30. 1678.*) our Gracious King calls it a *Bloody Traiterous Design of Popish Recusants, against His Majesties sacred Person, the Government, and the Protestant Religion*; and, besides, adding, in their own words, the



Vote of the House of Commons at Westminster, approved by the Lords in a Conference, 1. of Novemb. 1678. viz. Resolv'd, &c. That this House is of Opinion, that there has been, and still is a Damnable and Hellish-Plot, contriv'd and carry'd on by Popish Recusants, for assassinating and murdering the King, and for subverting the Government, and rooting out and destroying the Protestant Religion: Your Lordship, puts this cruel Note in the Margent of your 82. page, No less than fifteen Thousand Guinies promis'd by the Jesuits, to one who should Assassinate our Gracious King, and four thousand to Murder Justice Godfrey; as appears by the Papers of the Discovery of the late horrid Conspiracy, and Mr. Bedlow's Confession.

I could farther mind your Lordship, of your desiring the Reader [page 68.] to consider, "That barbarous and prodigious villany, the great "Massacre of Protestants in France, An. 1572. where "and when above Thirty or Forty Thousand innocent "Protestants (in Paris, and other parts of France) were "suddenly and inhumanely murder'd by Papists, Acting "upon such Popish Principles.

I could moreover mind you of your saying [p. 58.] That Gregory the II. deposed the Emperor Leo Isaurus, An. 729. And, that either Pope Zachary, or his Successor Stephen, deposed Childerick (or Chilperick, or Hilderick) King of France; So that (sayes your Lordship, page 30.) all agree, That a Pope (it matters not which) was Author of that impiety.

Moreover, I could mind your Lordship of your Dilemma [page 60.] in these words;  
[“ And

“And here I desire to know of our Papists, who do  
 “(as much as any) pretend to Loyalty; do they (as  
 “good Subjects should) favour their King, or do they  
 “not? If not, then they neither are nor can be good  
 “Subjects. If they do, then they disobey their Supreme  
 “and Infallible Judges; and are, as well as we, under  
 “the Pope’s Excommunication and Curse; and so no  
 “Members of their so much (and with so little reason)  
 “magnify’d *Roman-Church*.

I could likewise mind you of this other  
 passage, p. 64. “But, they say, there is another,  
 “a spiritual Effect (of *Excommunication*) which concerns  
 “the Soul; and is the greatest mischief and misery it is  
 “capable of. For they say, that Hereticks (Protestants  
 “with them are declar’d such) dying Excommunicate  
 “are eternally damn’d. Nay, *Lindwood* tells us, that  
 “every Excommunicate Person is a member of the  
 “*Devil*.

And so I could very justly too mind your  
 Lordship both of your Inference and Criticism  
 here, p. 65. *viz.* That the meaning of such  
 Titles prefixt to all Damnatory Bulls, as is,  
 for example, this, *Damnatio & Excommuni-*  
*catio Elizabethæ*, prefixt in the *Bullarium* to the  
 Bull of *Pius* the V. Deposing and Excommu-  
 nicating *Q. Elizabeth*, must be *not any Tempo-*  
*ral* (or not that only) *but the eternal Damnation*  
*of Soul and Body; which is intended and desired*  
*by them in their Uncharitable and impious Anathe-*  
*ma’s and Excommunications.*

Finally, I could mind your Lordship even of  
 References that are no way right, and *Trans-*  
*lations* too that are extremely wrong. p. 46,  
 47, 113. &c.

Section.

Nay after all, for thus minding your Lordship, and fixing on these particulars, I could give my Reasons too, as they follow here in order, answering the order of the said particular points.

*First Reason.* That the Impiety of the *Saxon-Massacre*, and *Sicilian Vespers* is without contradiction deliver'd in story. And yet, in the latter which happen'd four hundred and two years since, all the *French*, tho' commanding and possessing the Kingdome of *Sicily* then by a lawful Title, were by a Conspiracy of the Natives, on *Easter-day*, *Anno.* 1282. at *Even-Song* time and found of a Bell, in a profound

\* *Faxellus apud Spondanum ad Ann. Christi* 1282. Num. 11.

Peace, \* and when they least expected any danger, murder'd in cold blood; every one of them, except only one single Person *Gulielmus Porcelletus* a Noble Man of *Province*. All the rest eight thousand Persons of all degrees, Men, Women, Children, sucking Babes, in less than two hours time, throughout that Kingdom, dispatch't to the other World; nay, the very unborn Children ript alive out of their Mothers bellies and presently kill'd, lest any of their Seed should remain after them: Not the very Priests that serv'd at the Altars of God escaping this Massacre. And yet, for all this, as they were no *Protestants*, nor *Waldenses*, nor any other sort of Dissenters, or Reformers on either side, but *Roman-Catholicks* equally on both sides here; so I am sure it was not to ad-

vance

vance the *Papal-Interest*, the *Sicilians* acted this horrible Tragedy on the *French*. Nay more, it was against the *Papal* interest; for the *French* had their Title to that Kingdom then from the Pope; and therefore they were wholly for that Interest; as they have certainly been much more ever since for it, than the *Sicilian* Monarchy under the Crown of *Spain* or Title of *Aragon* could justly pretend it self to be at any time.

As for the former, I mean the *Saxon Massacre*, our own Histories tell us, that all the *Danes*, who were many thousands, nay Myriads, and by agreement and Articles with King *Ethelred* (Father to *Edward the Confessour*) lived peaceably under his Protection, being all Christians and *Roman-Catholicks* too, and consequently of the same Religion with that King and his other Subjects; were nevertheless by secret Orders issu'd from Him, and the Conspiracy of his *English* Subjects, in one day, every where throughout *England*, on a sudden, without mercy or distinction, inhumanely butcher'd. Their Women, stript naked, bury'd in earth up to the navel, and exposed thus to fierce Mastiffs, let loose, and egg'd on to worry them, had their very breasts torn off their bodies, whilst yet alive; their sucking Children, tho' incapable of any guilt, dash't to death by striking out their brains against the posts of doors: When immense heaps of slaughter'd bodies were to be seen, especially at *London*, pil'd one upon another. None of all that Nation escaping this universal Massacre, save only a few young Men;  
who,



who, by the swiftness of their feet running away and seizing a Boat in the *Thames*, carry'd the news over to *Sueno* King of *Denmark*. So *Walsingham* in his *Hypodigma Neustrie* p. 427. Now, I leave it to your Lordships consideration, whether those truly real and effectual Massacres of *Sicily* and *England* in former times, were not *parallel* in Impiety, to that imaginary, ineffectual, improbable, nay, incredible one of our dayes which you so designedly exaggerate in the very first Lines of your Book? Whether they were perpetrated to *advance the Papal Interest*? And, whether there was any difference in Religion, 'twixt either those *Sicilians* and *French*, or those *Saxons* and *Danes*? I am sure there was no such difference; but all four of them by Profession *Catholicks* in Communion with the *See of Rome*; and no less am I certain, that the *advancing* of the *Papal Interest* had no kind of influence upon, nor was any the least part of the Concern either of the *Sicilian* or *Saxon*, at the time of those horrid Massacres; as neither, indeed, since: For the *Saxon* being not long after, utterly sunk, gave place to the *Norman Conquest*; and *Sicily* has continu'd alwayes under *Aragon* and *Castile*, in succession, to this very day, both the Title and Thing of that which we call the *Sicilian Monarchy*; which is in effect, an Independency from the Pope both in temporals and Spiritu- als as to point of External Jurisdiction, or any exercise thereof in that Kingdom. See *Spondan. Contin. Baro. Tom. II. ad An. 1097.*

Second

*Second Reason.* That instead of that little Pamphlet, call'd *Calendarium Catholicum*, your Lordship might with better reason (tho' not to your own peculiar purpose) have quoted the Latin History of the Society's Mission \* in England, written by F. Henry Moor, an English Man of the same society; \* *Historia Missionis Anglicanae Societatis Jesu, &c. Collectore Henrico Moor &c. Audomari. 1660.* printed at St. Omers An. 1660. where lib. 7. p. 309. and in several other pages immediately following, he confesses the naked Truth of that Diabolical Powder-Plot Conspiracy; as really engag'd in, and carry'd on, by those few Professours of the Roman-Catholick Religion, named by him distinctly in their turn.

*Third Reason.* That the constant indisputable Doctrin of all the Roman-Catholick Schools, Writers, and much more Churches, is, that [*Non pana sed causa Martyrem facit*] not the punishment or Death, but the Cause for which 'tis inflicted or suffer'd, is that which makes a true and proper Martyr in the Ecclesiastical sense or meaning of the word. That in this meaning, the Cause must be the Profession of a Reveal'd Evangelical Truth, and Defence thereof in a Gospel-way by suffering patiently for it. And, that no bloody Murtherous Conspiracy against the Laws or Prince, or indeed any others, can have any such Truth to justify the undertaking. To what purpose then is your Marginal Note out of *Bzonius, Ribadeneira* and *Parsons*, but to impose on the Reader? as if three single Authors, two of them not only For-  
reiners,

reiners, but mightily prepossess by unsound Opinions and false Relations too, and the third (I mean, *Parsons*) an interested Man by his own former manifold Intrigues against the State of *England*, could weigh any thing against the sense of all the Writers and People of their Communion throughout the World.

*Fourth Reason.* That altho' it be *possible* indeed (as *Possibility* signifies only that which involves not a Contradiction) there might have been two such Popish Plots against the very Life of King *CHARLES* the I. as you tell us of p. 72. and 73. of your Book: Nevertheless, I am sure 'tis very *Improbable* that either of them should have had any Foundation in Truth. Not the former, because 'twas never so much as once heard of, till after the Arch-Bishop's Death on *Tower-Hill*, a scrawl of it was pretended to be found forsooth in his Closet. As if that Loyal Arch-Bishop *Lawd*, however he might have undervalu'd his own life, were a likely man to conceal a Plot against the life of his King, if either truly there had been any such thing discover'd to him by the Embassadour *Boswell* (to whom being then Resident at the *Hague*, it is pretended that *Andreas ab Habernfeld* had reveal'd it:) or if, in case there was, he had judg'd it to have any kind of likelihood or ground, which in any sort, or with any colour might warrant the Discretion of the Publishers of it. Nor the later, not only because of the prodigious incredible madness of *English Catholics*, putting the case in *Paris* to a Consult of the *Sorbon*, whether they

they should or could in conscience act towards the cutting off God's Anointed, their own so Lawful, Gracious and Virtuous a King as *CHARLES* the I. was known to be; but because of the story of the fifteen Jesuits immediately after that Consult riding in a gallop together from *Paris* to *Diep* for *England*; and openly and with great alacrity in the Highway telling Strangers of the Death of the King, even before 'twas perpetrated. To say nothing of the other part of that wise story, that a *Roman-Catholick* Priest upon the fatal stroak given, went off the Scaffold at *White-Hall*, flourishing his Sword over his head as in triumph, as if all were now their own. A Tale so ridiculous in every part of it, that it seems on purpose fram'd for those in *Bedlam* to believe; but certainly can never gain the least credit with any thinking Man, how malicious soever, who is in his right wits; being indeed a story, that for the frenzy of the pretended Actors in it, goes beyond any thing told us in the abominable Narratives of the very last execrable *Hellish* and *Popish* Plot (those celebrated Legends of our late factious times) against his Majesty *CHARLES* the II. whom God long preserve. And therefore it being so full of Non-sense, and so void of all good Ground, it seems to me that the Bishop of *Lincoln*, before he had made use of it in his Book against *Popish* Principles, ought in all Prudence to have consider'd well how he could vouch its credit. I say, void of all good Ground; for in truth, it has no other Foundation than the  
weak



weak Authority of *D. du Moulins* revenge in his Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*; without any kind of Proof; or so much as the bare name of the Discoverer of it to him, or even the least circumstance to make it out. Nor can it sufficiently excuse your Lordship, that he by way of *bravado* in that Answer desir'd to be call'd in question for that story. For who is it that knows the innate hereditary zeal against *Roman-Catholicks*, of his Son who was the Authour of *The Accomplishment of Prophecies*, can perswade himself, that if he had any likely Proofs to make good this heavy charge of his pretended Discovery, he would not at some time in so many years of his life after, or in some occasion before his death, have declar'd so important a secret, tho' never call'd upon by Publick Authority to do it? Now, my Lord, if the bare word of one bitter and avowed Enemy be sufficient to condemn Men, even tho' the story it self be so senseless in many particulars, as makes it in Common Prudence Incredible, what Man's reputation, what Man's life can be safe? But I have said enough, for minding your Lordship of those Popish Plots against *CHARLES* the I. as without other Cause than your own Extraordinary zeal, conjur'd up by you to charge *Roman-Catholicks* with them.

*Fifth Reason.* That your Lordship seems wholly a stranger in the Affairs of *Ireland*, both as to the Number of *Protestants murder'd in cold blood by Popish Conspirators*, in the late Rebellion there; and as to the Causes too  
which

which mov'd them to rise. Certainly, (1.) As to the *Number*, the judicious Sir William Petty Knight, tho' an *English* Man, and otherwise concern'd enough, not to be in any manner favourable to the *Irish*; has, notwithstanding, in his *Manuscript*, entitled, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, pag. 2. reduced your Lordships [*One hundred thousand*] to almost a third part only. And my Lord of *Castlehaven*, an *English*-man too, and a Peer of *England* himself, who liv'd at that time, and for Six years after continually in *Ireland*, has in *The Review of his Memoires*, pag. 8. (Printed at *London* this present year 1684.) brought down the Account much lower yet; even to the *Twentieth* part of that which is commonly reported of it. Nor will your Lordship much wonder at either of these Reductions, when you consider, That the Author of *The Irish Colours folded*, P. W. after using the greatest diligence he could, to inform himself rightly out of every particular County of *Ireland*, two and twenty years ago (that is, even then when the Matter was in debate before His Majesty in Council, addressing himself in the foresaid Book to the Duke of *Ormond*, publickly in print reduced the number of *Protestants murder'd in cold blood*, by those popish Conspirators of *Ireland*, even to that lowness, that he confidently avers, it exceeded not the number of *Patricians* and *Knights* destroyed in the very streets of *Rome*, by *Sylla* and *Marius*. Sir William Petty's own proper words in the foresaid *Manuscript* [p. 2.] are these.

Q

[So

[So as it follows, that Thirty seven thousand were Massacred in the first year of the Tumults. So as those who think One hundred fifty four thousand were so Destroy'd, ought to review the Grounds of their Opinion.] My Lord of Castlehaven's words (p. 28. of his Review) are these.

["As for the Massacre that ensu'd, it was certainly  
 "very barbarous and inhuman, tho' I cannot believe the  
 "Tenth part of the British Natives (reported by Sir John  
 "Temple and others of the same kidney to have been  
 "murther'd by the Irish) liv'd then in that Kingdom out  
 "of Cities and walled Towns, where no such Massacre  
 "was committed. I am certain that in Sir John Temple's  
 "Muster-Rolls, of whom the subsequent Scriblers bor-  
 "row'd all their Catalogues, there are not 50000 to  
 "be found; tho' 'tis manifest that, in divers places,  
 "he repeats the same people and with the same Circum-  
 "stances twice or thrice over; and mentions hundreds,  
 "as there murther'd, that lived many years after; nay,  
 "some even this day alive. Nevertheless, it is very  
 "certain that there have been great Cruelties committed  
 "on the English, tho' I believe not the Twentieth part of  
 "what is generally reported. But the truth is, they were  
 "very bloody on both sides: and tho' some will throw  
 "all upon the Irish, yet 'tis well known, who they were  
 "that used to give orders to their Parties, sent into the  
 "Enemies Quarters, to spare neither Man, Woman,  
 "nor Child. And the leading Men among the Irish  
 "have this to say for themselves, that they were all a  
 "long so far from favouring any of the Murderers, that  
 "not only by their Agents soon after the King's Restau-  
 "ration, but even in their Remonstrance (see Borlase  
 "his History page 58.) presented by the Lord Viscount  
 "Gormanslowen and Sir Robert Talbot, on the 17th. of  
 "March, 1642. the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation  
 "desir'd that the Murders committed on both sides  
 "should be strikly examin'd, and the Authors of them  
 "punish't according to the utmost severity of the Law.  
 "Which Proposal certainly their Adversaries could ne-  
 "ver have rejected, but that they were conscious them-  
 "selves

selves of being deeper in the mire than they would have the World believe.

Lastly, *P. W's* words in his *Irish Colours* fol-  
ed, page 3. and 4. are these

"Your Grace knows with what horreur the *Irish* Nation looks upon those Massacres and murders in the North, committed in the beginning of the Rebellion by the raskal multitude, upon their innocent, unwarned and unprovided Neighbours; but the number of two hundred thousand, (tho' this Writer comes short one hundred thousand in his Accompt of what the Convention-Commissioners gave up to His Majesty in their Answer to the *Irish* Agents) is so exorbitantly vast, that a stranger who finds the Dimensions of *Ireland* in the Map, and understands this certain Truth, that then there were in *Ireland* one hundred Natives for each Person these Men would pass under the notion of an *English-Man*; will readily conclude, that the whole Island is but one City, so throng'd with Inhabitants, that Men cannot walk in the Streets unjustled. There is no Man who hath a greater detestation for those foul Crimes than my self: and yet after exact Enquiry, I dare aver there have been more Patricians and Knights of *Rome* Murder'd in the Conflicts and Proscriptions of *Sylla* and *Marius*, within the Walls of that City, than perish't by those infamous massacres throughout *Ireland*, in the two first Months of the Rebellion.]

So that by this account your Lordship is as far out in the Number of *Protestants Murder'd* by those Popish Conspirators in *Ireland*, as he would be that would assert those Patricians and knights of *Rome*, that were in all but some few single hundreds, to have really amounted to a hundred thousand at least.

2. As to the *Causes* of that Rebellion, if your Lordship please to give your self the trouble of consulting the foresaid *Review of Castlehaven's*



*Memoires* or Quotations therein out of Mr. *Howell's Mercurius Hibernicus* (on the year 1643.) and the Royal Martyr's Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ (cap. 12.) you will plainly see those *Irish* Conspirators had far other Causes, and even Provocations, to rebell, than any desire in them to kill *Hereticks*, and thereby promote the *Catholick Cause*.

"They saw themselves generally look't upon as a  
 "meer conquer'd Nation, excluded from all places of  
 "Trust both in Church and State, Civil and Martial Lists,  
 "seldom or never treated like Natural or free-born Sub-  
 "jects. They considered how, upon account of *Tyrone's*  
 "Rebellion, as they said, six whole Counties in *Ulster*  
 "had been in a lump escheated to the Crown, and little  
 "or nothing restor'd to the Natives (tho' several of them  
 "never joyn'd with *Tyrone*) but a great part bestow'd  
 "by K. *JAMES* on his Country Men. It did not a  
 "little heighten their Discontents, that, in the Earl of  
 "*Strafford's* time there was a great noise of entitling the  
 "Crown to the Counties of *Roscomon, Mayo, Galway*  
 "and *Cork*; with some parts of *Tipperary, Limmerick,*  
 "*Wicklow* and others. They found, that, since the sit-  
 "ting of the Parliament at *Westminster* (*An. 40. or 41.*)  
 "great severities were used against the *Roman-Catholicks*  
 "in *England*; and both Houses solicited by several Pe-  
 "titions out of *Ireland* to have those of that Kingdome  
 "treated with the like rigour. Which, to a People so  
 "fond of their Liberty as the *Irish*, was no small induce-  
 "ment to make them, while there was an opportunity  
 "offer'd, to stand upon their Guard. Besides, they  
 "saw the *Scots*, by pretending Grievances, and taking  
 "up Arms to get them redrest, had not only gain'd di-  
 "vers Priviledges and Immunities, but got 300000 *ll.*  
 "for their Visit, besides 850 *ll.* a day for several Months  
 "together. And this Precedent so much encouraged the  
 "*Irish* at that time, that they

\* *O Conelly's* Examination *Oct. 22. 1641.*

in *Berlase's* History of the *Irish* Rebellion. p. 21.

"who

“who discover'd the Design, as their chief Motive of  
 “rising then in Rebellion; which (said he) they en-  
 “gag'd in to be rid of the Tyrannical Government which  
 “was over them, and to imitate *Scotland*; who by that  
 “course had enlarg'd their Priviledges.

Hitherto *Castlehaven's Review*, p. 10, 11,  
 12, 13. out of the Discourses the *Irish* them-  
 selves had with His Lordship.

Add to these his own Judgment (p. 22, 23, and 24) of  
 the original, true and indeed great Motive of that Re-  
 bellion. “Which (sayes he) was no other than that  
 “*Fatal one*, which for so many hundred years, from  
 “*Henry the II.* to the begining of the Reign of *K. James*,  
 “had been not only the very source of all the dangerous  
 “Rebellions of that Country, but the very bane and  
 “ruin of it's People on all sides for so many Ages. The  
 “*National Feud*, I mean; betwixt the *Meer Irish*,  
 “(as the Antient *Milesians* are call'd) and *Later Irish*,  
 “or Colonies of *English* or *British* Extraction among  
 “them: and the unalterable perswasion of the former,  
 “that the *English* Conquest of that Country was but  
 “meer Usurpation, without any just Title; and that  
 “the Right both to the Supreme Sovereignty and Pro-  
 “prietorship too of all the Lands of *Ireland* still re-  
 “main'd, according to the Ancient *Brebon* Laws of that  
 “Country (which, say they, had never been legally re-  
 “peal'd or antiquated) and consequently, also accord-  
 “ing to the Laws of God, in the surviving Heirs of  
 “the more Antient Natives, the *Milesians*.]

Thus much, and much more to this purpose  
 that *English* Noble Man of the *Causes* of that  
 Rebellion.

It were not amiss to add what Sir *John*  
*Davies* (Attorney General to King *James* in  
*Ireland*) writes in his *Discovery of the State*  
*of Ireland*. 1. How the more antient Natives  
 of that Kingdom, notwithstanding any their  
 submissions to the Crown of *England*, never

continu'd in Peace with it, above Five Years together at any time, for the long extent of Four Hundred Years, from the first Landing of *Henry the II.* there, till King *James* his

Sir *William Davies* Discovery of the State of *Ireland.* pag. 201. Lond. Edit. in 4°. An. 1613.

Reign. 2. How, after a thousand Conquests, and Attainders by our Law, they would, in those days, pretend Title still; because, by the Irish Law, no Man could forfeit his Land.

All which, if your Lordship pleases to consider, besides what else you may see at large, quoted by *Castlehaven*, in his fore-said Review, [from p. 14. to p. 21.] inclusively, out of Mr. *Hewel's Mercurius Hibernicus*, and the Royal Martyr's ΕΙΧΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ; and withal, reflect, how those *Irish*, and the *English*, against whom they Rebell'd, and Fought so frequently, so perpetually, and so very bloodily too many times; were of the very same *Roman-Catholick Religion*, about 350. Years of that whole Extent; you'l find it no hard matter to perswade your self, That, as I have, in the former part of this Discourse, made you see your great mistake of the *Number*; so in the latter, I have no less evinc't, they were far other Causes and Provocations, which influenc't that Rebellion; and, consequently, the Massacre (such as it was) of *Protestants in cold blood*, by the *Popish Conspirators*, than any desire of *Killing Hereticks*, or any zeal of promoting thereby the *Catholick Cause*.

*Sixth Reason*, That if, instead of the *Popish party*,

party, your Lordship had said, *The Dissenting party* (which call themselves the onely *True Protestants*) had, notwithstanding all obligations to Obedience and Gratitude, ever since His Majesties happy Return, carry'd their Plots and Conspiracies against their Gracious Prince, and Establish't Religion, and the Peace of our Church and State, with as much industry and impiety, as formerly; It would have been so clear a Truth, that no Man living could open his mouth to contradict or disprove you: Because, it is manifestly notorious, that, in all, there have been, at several times, at least nine several Instances, part in *Ireland*, most in *Scotland*, and some in *England* too, of such their Treasonable Plots and Conspiracies against their Gracious Prince: For, he was scarce possessed of his Royal Throne, when the First of them discover'd it self at *London*, even to a high degree of madness, in *Venner*, and his Associates. The Second of them was also early defeated in *Ireland*, in the year 62. tho' it was a most Dreadful and Universal one of the whole Party there; to Seize, at a certain day, His Majesties Castle at *Dublin*; and, together with it, even that whole Kingdom for the use of the Saints; and a Signal for the Brethren of *England* and *Scotland*, to Rise. But, if your Lordship will say, that to reflect on those only *True Protestants*, was no part of your Work, being intended wholly against Papists; you might, nevertheless, in prudence, forbear charging the Papists with such horrible matters of Fact, as the carrying on Plots.



and Conspiracies against *Charles* the II. until you saw better Proofs, than the bare Oaths of such men, who had never been believ'd, if the Interest, Passion, and Power of some other Men, had not been exerted to make a *Third* sort of People seem to believe that, which by no Rules of Reason they could. Nay, you ought in Prudence, the rather to have done this, because you could not pretend to any one Instance or Effect, or sign of an Instance; nay, or the least noise, or whisper of any kind of Plot or Conspiracy against our Gracious King, by the Popish party; no, not in any of all his Dominions, nor at any time, neither since or before his Happy Return; save only this incredible Romantick Plot in 1678. by the bare Oaths of those ill-qualify'd Attesters.

*Seventh Reason.* That even the Proceedings in the very Courts of Justice, have sufficiently shewn, That your Lordship could hardly have pitch't on a more unluckly Instance, to prove any Truth in that pretended ~~Horrible~~ Popish Plot, than your Marginal Note of the *Fifteen thousand Guinies*, &c. That as the King, for His Proclamation, and both Houses of Parliament, for their Opinion, had no other bottom or ground, than the *Bare Oaths of such Witnesses*; So I hope your Lordship will hold it no Crime to think, That both His Majesty, and His Parliament too; and, consequently, his Judges, and the Juries also, without any disparagement to the Justice of the Nation, might be impos'd upon as to matter of Fact, by the positive

fitive false Oaths of perfidious wicked Men. That surely 'tis no Crime to think, that even the most Oecumenical Councils themselves, might be thus deceiv'd in matters of Fact, especially such as appear no otherwise, than by the bare Testimonies of other Men. That much less can it be any Crime to think the same of a Parliament of *England*, or consequently that neither that Proclamation, nor that Opinion alledg'd by you, nor both together, can be a convincing Proof to others, of what you intend to ascertain by them, the real Objective Verity of that pretended ~~horrible~~ ~~Papish~~ Plot. And therefore, I cannot but hope, That your very Lordship will not hold any of these Thoughts to be Criminal, especially at this time of day, when besides, the *Wheel within the Wheel*, now clearly seen, and many other matters; which Time, the Mother of Truth, has at last brought to light; you Consider these Particulars: (1.) That, notwithstanding the utmost diligence of the most interess'd Men, to find out some Effect of such a Design among the Papists, or some at least suspicious Sign of any kind of Preparation for such an Exploit; yet, to this day, being well nigh Seven Years since the wonderful Discovery of it, there has not the least footstep, colour, or shadow of any such matter been observ'd. (2.) That among so many, as by the Justice of the Nation, have been put to Death for it, tho' several of them were known to be sober, judicious, and even Religious Men; and not one of them held, either

ther profane, or debauch'd; or impious, or otherwise dishonest, or wicked: yet not so much as one Man has confest his knowledge thereof; but, on the contrary, every one of them, to a Man, all along, even when their very last Breath was on their Lips, declar'd their Innocence, as they were within a few Moments to answer it to God? (3.) That, in former times, the *Powder-Plot* Conspirators, tho' all of them Papists, nay Jesuited Papists, and consequently, as well acquainted with the Rules of Equivocation, and Mental Reservation, and in what cases either of them might be lawful, as any of our dayes; were, notwithstanding, so Religiously fearful of Departing the World with any kind of Lye in their Mouths, that all of them, to a Man, as many of them as were taken alive, confessed the naked Truth of that indeed most *Hellish-Plot*, and themselves Guilty of it. Which I conceive, may be a sufficient Answer to all those vain and uncharitable Pamphlets, which came forth at *London* of late, to possess the People, that the Papists, how Guilty soever of this pretended horrible Conspiracy, were notwithstanding allow'd by their Morals, and foresaid Rules, to deny it, even upon Oath, to their very last Breath. For, so enormously debauch't in their Morals, particularly those relating to Veracity, did too many Protestant-Zelots of late represent the whole Body of *Roman-Catholicks*: As if, in effect, the *Papists* were, at least for so much, no better than the very spawn of *Priscillian*, and his  
impious

impious Tribe; whose Maxim and Lesson to their Believers, was, [*Jura perjura, secretum prodere noli*;] Swear, forswear, betray not your Trust: Or, as if the conscientious Learned Church of England Protestants, did not know, that the Roman-Catholick Church has, in our own memory, Condemned those impious Morals: Or, as if the *Factum Rothomagensis* and *Parisiensis*, of the Parish-Priests of those two great Cities, *Paris* and *Roan*, publisht in print about Thirty years since, and the Provincial Letters, which immediately follow'd, and the Concurrence of the whole Clergy of *France* soon after, and the prosecution of the Matter at *Rome*, for above twenty years next ensuing, under *Alexander* the VII. and the present Pope *Innocentius* the XI. and the Condemnation of the *Apology for the Casuists* by the former, and of the 65. Propositions by the latter (among which those of *Equivocation* and *Mental Reservation*, are the 26, 27, & 28.) by the same present Pope *Innocent* XI. in his publick Decree, bearing date *Thursday* the second of *March*, 1679. were Secrets in *England*, amongst any sort of Learned Protestants for some years past. Or, Lastly, as if any Man of Reason, could really, and inwardly perswade himself, that any Mortal, in his Wits, Christian, Jew, or even Turk, who believ'd but so much as a Heaven to reward the truly Penitent; a Hell prepar'd for the impenitent, a Lye, in any matter to be a Sin; and the rigorous Judgment expecting him presently after death, would freely and deliberately,



rately in the last moment of his Life, appeal to that very Judgment, and Tribunal of an All-seeing God, with a Lye in his Mouth: Or, would chuse to run the *Risque* of Eternal Woe, by practising, at that time, such impious Casuistry, as the palliating a Lye with any deceitful reserve, or any kind of either Mental or Vocal trick of equivocal words, must needs be. But your Lordship did not foresee, that the Carriage of all those who Dy'd on the Account of that pretended Plot, would be such even at their Death, as justly might give occasion to dilate so far upon this Point.

*Eighth Reason.* That, altho' I confess the *Parisian Massacre*, which you desire to be consider'd, was a most barbarous, inhumane, and exorbitantly cruel Slaughter of so many thousand *Hugonots*, in cold Blood, and time of Peace, and all the other Circumstances; yet (which is the only Point between us, and at which your Lordship only drives) nothing can be more plain, than that they were not *Murder'd* by *Papists acting on such Popish Principles*, as you before mention'd. For, (1.) Who is it that knows any thing in *Europe*, can be ignorant how the Kingdom, Church, and Universities of *France*, have perpetually, both in Theory and Practice, oppos'd those Principles you mean? Or (2.) Who is to any degree, conversant in the History of the Civil Wars of *France*, that knows not what the impartial Pen of *D' Avila*, writes, not only of that *Massacre*, and the Author of it, but  
of

of the *Causes* too, that mov'd him to such extraordinary prodigious Cruelty? How it was Executed, as well by the contrivance, and express Order of *Charles* the IX. the *French* King then; as likewise after serious Consultation about it, & by advice of His Cabinet-Council too. And how

“The third day after the death of the Admiral, the  
 “persecution of the *Hugonots* not being yet ended, the  
 “King accompanied by all the Princes and Lords of his  
 “Court went into the Parliament; and tho' at first he  
 “had both by words and Letters attributed the whole  
 “business to a popular Tumult, yet there, unmasking  
 “his Designs, with a long relation he laid open the reasons for which he had commanded all those Rebels against his Person and Kingdom to be destroy'd; who notwithstanding his gracious pardon so often granted to their former offences, returned still with perfidious obstinacy, to Plot new Treasons and Insurrections; that at last, he was necessitated to prevent them, for fear of being prevented, having miraculously discover'd their conspiracy to take away his Life: and not his alone, but the Lives of the Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Alanzon* his Brothers; and even the King of *Navarr's* also, who, because he was alienated from their party, was esteem'd no less their Enemy than all the rest. Wherefore he thought good to make them, his Magistrates, acquainted therewith, to the end they might proceed with the same sharpness against so wicked a Conspiracy; and make known to all the World the just and necessary Causes that had forced him to use such rigour and severity.

So says *D'Avila* in his fifth Book, p. 185. of his second *English* Edition; that is, after he had told us before at large in his fourth Book, p. 110, 111, 112. How

“This very King, some few years before, in his Minority, and a time also of peace with the *Hugonots*; being with the Queen Regent, his Mother, and all his Brethren, diverting himself and them at *Monceaux* in the  
 “Province

"Province of *Brye*, Anno. 1567. Fearless, and without  
 "suspicion of the *Hugonots*; they, notwithstanding,  
 "meeting privately and suddenly in a great Body of  
 "Men at Armes from several parts, headed by the  
 "Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral *Coligny*, arriv'd un-  
 "known at *Rosa*, the place of their Rendezvous, a few  
 "leagues from *Monceaux*, on purpose to seize the King,  
 "his Mother, and all the Court; which they attempted  
 "to do; and had done certainly the next Morning  
 "(which was the 27th. of *sepr.* 1567.) if, upon intelli-  
 "gence brought, the King and Court had not fled that  
 "very Night, and march't all next day amidst 6000.  
 "*Suisses* that by good chance quarter'd not far off,  
 "and so in great hazard; got safe away. How the  
 "Prince and Admiral with their Squadrons of Horse  
 "came even up to the Rere of the *Suisses*; and tho' not  
 "able to break thro' their Pikes, kept close to them  
 "all that day till evening; and they were come with-  
 "in four leagues of *Paris*. How many have reported,  
 "and some, who in several occasions were taken in  
 "*Gascogne* by *Monsieur de Monluc* and put to their Trial,  
 "confest upon their Torture, that the chief scope of this  
 "Enterprize was to murder the King and the Queen,  
 "with all her other Children, that the Crown might  
 "come to the Prince of *Conde*; but so great a Cruelty  
 "was not generally believ'd of all Men.]

Hitherto also this impartial Author. Who  
 farther yet, tho' a little before, in the same  
 Book and year, (p. 107.) has recorded another  
 very special particular to inform us more fully  
 in these concerns.

"The *Hugonots* (sayes he) were no less bold with  
 "their Pens than with their

\* *Spondanus ad An.* "Swords. For, at the same  
*Christi.* 1566. sayes, this "time a Minister, who was  
 Ministers name was *Hu-*

*go Sorellus* [*Roserius.*] And *ad An.* 1572. tells he was (af-  
 ter writing so bad a Book) converted to the *Roman-Catho-*  
*lick* Church, nay the only Man that by discourse converted  
 also the King of *Navarr* & Prince of *Conde*, when *Charles*  
 the IX. himself, even after the Massacre could not per-  
 swade them.

"born

"born at *Orleance*, Preach't seditiously against the King's  
 "Authority, and had likewise Printed a Book in which he  
 "maintained, that the People of *France* were no longer  
 "oblig'd to be obedient to the King, because he was  
 "turn'd Idolater, and for this reason affirm'd, *that it was*  
 "*lawful to kill him.* From which impious Diabolical  
 "Seed, after sprung up in other times and in other  
 "Persons, that pernicious Doctrine, which with such  
 "horrible perversion of all Human and Divine Laws,  
 "instructed men, under pretence of Piety and Religion,  
 "to imbrue their hands in the Blood of their lawful  
 "Kings, by Gods Ordinance appointed over them as his  
 "Deputies. And perhaps, by this Doctrine, which  
 "founded well in their Ears, the Admiral and the rest  
 "of his party were perswaded to plot, not only against  
 "the Queen-Mother, but even against the Person of the  
 "King himself.] So far this excellent Authour.

To all which three passages, I'll add yet  
 one more of the same judicious *D' Avila*; the  
 rather, because the matter of it, tho' it hap-  
 pen'd in the same year 1566, preceded in  
 time all those hitherto related. It is in his  
 said Fourth Book, p. 105. where he speaks  
 thus.

["The Kings anger was wrought up to the height  
 "by the carriage of the *Admiral*; who, being come to  
 "Court in this conjuncture, and fearing to lose his re-  
 "putation with his Party, or else asham'd while stranger  
 "Princes (*He means the Protestant Princes of Germany*)  
 "solicited in behalf of the *Hugonots*, not to shew him-  
 "self; the morning after, being in the King's Chamber,  
 "and seeing there by chance a Declaration, publish't a  
 "little before, that at the Preachings tolerated in pri-  
 "vate Houses none should be present but those of the  
 "Family; he took occasion to make great complaint  
 "thereof, saying in this manner; *We are deprived the*  
 "*liberty of admitting a Friend, who comes by chance to our*  
 "*Houses in a visit, to hear the Word of God, while, on*  
 "the other side, the *Catholicks* are permitted to assemble  
 "wheresoever they please without prescribing their  
 "num-



"number, manner, or any other circumstance of their  
 "meetings. At which words the Constable being pre-  
 "sent, sharply reprehended his Nephew, and answer'd,  
 "The case is not the same; for the King doth not give  
 "a Toleration to the *Catholicks*, but it is the Religion  
 "he himself professeth, which is deriv'd to him by a long  
 "Succession from his Ancestors; whereas, on the con-  
 "trary, the exercise of the New Religion was simply a  
 "Grace of His Majesty, for what time, number or place  
 "he was pleas'd or should be pleas'd to grant it them.  
 "And the King in choler added. *At the first you were*  
 "*content with a little liberty, now you will be equal, with-*  
 "*in a little while you will be Chief, and drive us out of*  
 "*the Kingdom.* The Admiral held his peace, but was  
 "much troubled in his countenance; and the King in  
 "a great chafe went to the Queen-Mother's chamber;  
 "where aggravating the business, he said in the pre-  
 "sence of the Chancellour, that the Duke of *Alva's*  
 "Opinion was right, that their Heads were too emi-  
 "nent in the State; that no Art could prevail with  
 "such subtle Artificers, and therefore it was necessary  
 "to use rigour and force; and tho' the Queen endea-  
 "vour'd to appease him, from that time forward he was  
 "so fixt in that belief, that it was not possible to alter  
 "or make him of another mind.]

Now, this particular Account of *D'Avila*  
 in so many passages, being duely consider'd,  
 proceeding from so sincere and impartial a pen,  
 I hope it appears sufficiently, that altho' both  
 the Authour and Executioners of the great  
 Massacre of those *French Protestants* (if we  
 may call the *Hugonots* so) were by profession  
 undoubtedly *Roman-Catholicks*; they were not-  
 withstanding, so far from acting in that bloody  
 Tragedy upon such *Popish Principles* as your  
 Lordship had before mention'd, and charg'd all  
 Papists with: That on the contrary, besides  
 choler, hatred, revenge, and excessive fear  
 in

in the King of losing, and excessive love of preserving his own Life, and besides, at worst, the very same passions that egg'd on his Subjects, the *Parisians* and others, together with the sense of their duty to obey the positive Royal Order; it may be with reason farther said, that they engag'd in it as *Acting* designedly against even the most sacrilegiously horrid of all those *Popish Principles*, and against the very first broachers thereof from Hell; I am sure, the first amongst Christians in that Age, those unfortunate *Hugonots*, who by their late actions did seem to believe and maintain it, viz. *The Lawfulness of killing the Anointed of God, their King, on pretence of Piety and Religion.* And therefore, I conceive, my Lord, I might justly mind your Lordship of that matter (the *Parisian Massacre*) as no Instance at all to your purpose; how great soever the noise be you have made with it, and how particularly soever you *desire* your Reader to *Consider* it. Rather, I fear your Lordships Readers, if any thing ingenuous, will more and more clearly discern by such arguments, that, whereas there are thousands of Motives on which men in divers circumstances may proceed, your Lordships zeal against Papists carries you so far beyond the bounds of Reason, that every unwarrantable action done by *Roman-Catholicks* must be charged upon their Religion it self, and be the product only of *Popish* Motives or *Principles.* And therefore I ask your Lordship one thing only, might not any Religion, nay all the Religions in the world be

R      prov'd

prov'd by an Atheist full as ill as Heathenism, if this way of arguing your Lordship so resolute and constantly affects, were taken and pursu'd?

*Ninth Reason.* That your Lordship having quoted several times Father *Caron's Remonstrantia Hibernorum*, could hardly be ignorant how he has at large (Part. 5. cap. 5. See likewise Part. 2. cap. 11. especially page 188.) how he has, I say at large demonstrated out of History against *Bellarmin*, that neither *Leo Isaurus* the Emperour, nor *Chilpericus* King of France, nor indeed any other Emperour or King, was ever depos'd, or attempted to be depos'd, either by *Gregory* the II. or *Stephen*, or *Zachary*, or *Gelasius*, or *Gregory* the IV. or *Nicholas* the I. or any other Pope whatsoever before *Gregory* the VII. who was the very first Bishop that ever gave this wicked example of Deposition to the World. And I think a Man of your great Reading could hardly either be ignorant, how, before *Caron's* time, a very Learned even Protestant Bishop of the Church of England (*Joannes Reffensis*) *John* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, in his Defence of *William Barclay* (a Roman-Catholick Scottish Doctor of the Canon and Civil Law at *Musſi-pontum* in *Lorrain*) against *Bellarmin*, has also diffusely and beyond Contradiction prov'd this very point. To what purpose then does your Lordship tell us of *Leo Isaurus* and *Chilperick* so depos'd? As to the later, the very *Gloss* of the Chapter you quote out of the Canon-Law might have inform'd you better. *Deposuit. i. e. deponentibus consensit. He deposed,*  
that

that is; (says the *Gloss.*) he consented to the de-  
 posers; who were the States of *France*, that on-  
 ly desir'd the Pope's good opinion of what  
 they were themselves resolved to do, and *did*  
 by their own sole Authority, when they chose  
*Pipin* to be their King. And as to both latter  
 and former, and all other such ill-grounded  
 Examples or Instances of Papal Depositions  
 before the days of *Gregory* the VII. the testi-  
 mony of *Onuphrius Panninus* alone, (tho' I  
 could produce twenty others) in his life of this  
*Gregory* (set forth by *Gretzer*) may be suffi-  
 cient; where we have a much other account  
 than your Lordship gives here. Which is the  
 reason I give the Reader in *English* what he  
 writes in *Latin* briefly of this matter. "For  
 "(sayes he) however the *Roman* Bishops in former  
 "times were look't upon with veneration as Heads of  
 "the Christian Religion and Vicars of Christ, and Suc-  
 "cessors of *Peter*; yet their Authority was extended no  
 "farther than to the asserting or defending the Tenets  
 "of Faith; and for the rest, they were subject to the  
 "Emperours; they depended in all things on their  
 "beck; they were created by them, but to judge of  
 "them, or decree any thing that concern'd them, the  
 "the *Roman* Bishop durst not in those dayes. *Gregory*  
 "the VII. assisted by the Arms of the *Normans* supported  
 "by the riches of Countess *Matildis*, a Woman of the  
 "greatest Power in *Italy*, and animated by the Civil  
 "Wars of the *German* Princes, was the first Bishop of  
 "*Rome*, that contrary to the custome of his Predecessours  
 "when he had obtain'd the High Priesthood, contemning  
 "the Authority and Power of the Emperour, by whom if  
 "not elected, at least he was confirm'd, durst (I say, not  
 "*Excommunicate*, but) deprive of his Kingdom and Em-  
 "pire that very *Cesar*; a thing before that time never  
 "heard of. For the Fables related of *Arcadius*, *Anasta-*  
 "*sius* and *Leo* the Image-breaker, I pass by as unworthy  
 "of mention:



So writes *Onuphrius* of this Matter; and so does the concurrence of all antient Historians shew it to have been. To what purpose therefore has your Lordship Borrow'd from *Bel-larmin* these *Fables*, and baffled Examples, of your *Leo Isaurus* (that Image-breaker) as depos'd by *Gregory* the II. or of your *Zachary* or *Stephen*, as deposing *Chilperick*? All these were long before the dayes of *Gregory* the VII. And I am sure the number of Deposing Popes after him, might have serv'd your turn, without wronging any of them before him. But perhaps your Lordship imagined, that your increasing the bulk, at any rate, might lay on more weight. As for what you say [pag. 58.] of *Silvester* the III.'s excommunicating the Emperor *Henry* the V. and raising great Troubles in *Germany*: There is not a word of it can be true. Not only because that *Silvester* was one, and the vilest too, of those three Monsters of Anti-Popes, who sat together *An.* 1044. in three several Churches at *Rome*, and was expell'd the 48<sup>th</sup>. day after his Intrusion, and never at any time had any kind of credit to raise the least Disturbance elsewhere, much less the Confidence to Excommunicate the Emperor; but because he was not contemporary at all with the Emperor *Henry* the V. but almost a whole Age before him: As he was also before the dayes of Pope *Hildebrand* himself. See *Platina* in his Life, and *Baronius ad. An.* 1044.

*Tenth Reason.* That if Love, and Fidelity, and Obedience to the King and his Laws,  
come

come under the notion of *Favouring* the King; the Papists will not onely acknowledge themselves to *Favour* the King, (as you phrase it in the *Dilemma* you put, and think it such a shrewd and unanswerable a business) but will plainly confess that if they did not *Favour* Him in that sense or in that manner, they could be no *Good Subjects* in any true sense at all. And yet they'l deny that either they or you can truly, and in very deed before God or the *Roman-Catholick* Church be obnoxious to any *Excommunication* or *Curse*, or any Effects of either, for such a Cause as is that of *Favouring* the King in such a manner. They'l tell you that the Doctrine of all their very Schoolmen, is, that where the Cause is not sufficient, that is, sinful, the *Excommunication* must be voyd of it self, and without any Effect, either in the Internal Court of Conscience, or External of the Church, whoever he or they were that pronounc't it, Popes or even General Councils. That there is no Power in the Church to *Destruction*, but to *Edification*. That *Clave errante* the Excommunicator operates nothing, but a *Curse* on himself. That the Key *errs*, when it shuts the door against any man without sufficient cause, even a mortal sin against God, aggravated with contumacy against the Church. That the foresaid manner of *Favouring* the King cannot be such a Cause; *i. e.* a Mortal sin, or indeed any sin at all. Nay, that on the contrary it is a Duty enjoyn'd by the Law of God in Scripture, to be paid even to *Hereti-*

cal, even to *Infidel* and *Pagan* Kings themselves. They'l tell you too that so the Great Body of the *Roman-Catholick* Church it self does believe and teach, and evermore practice, whatever any Bishops of *Rome* declare or pretend to, or any Court of *Rome* Divines clamour to the contrary. And consequently, they'l tell you that Papists by *Favouring* (in such a manner as I have said) the King, cease not to be members of their own *so much magnified Roman Church*. For an Excommunication that is null of it's own nature, that hath no Effect in either Court, either Internal or External, cannot have that which is the greatest of all Effects, to unchurch them, or cut them off from being Members of their own Church, nor consequently from being of the Communion of Saints. 2. That your Lordship is mightily out in the Ground of your *Dilemma*, or (which is the same thing) in the supposition that by *Favourers* of *Hereticks* the Papal Canons, or at least Bulls understand *Subjects* paying their known duties in all affairs to their Princes. Certainly neither of 'em mean any such thing; no more than they do by those who *participate* with *Hereticks* or Excommunicate Persons understand their *Wives* or *Servants* paying them all due respects and services; provided they do not participate with them *in crimine criminoso*; i. e. Their Heresy or other just Cause of the Excommunication. Therefore, to *Favour* the King in the sense of these Bulls you quote, is to favour him formally, or at least effectually and intentionally

in

in the very Cause of Heresie it self (as even *Bonacina* \* himself tho' a

\* *Bonacina de Censuris*  
disp. 2. q. 10. p. 3.

rigid *Roman Court Lawyer*, Canonist, Civilian, Theologue does plainly teach. And that no good Subject, Papist or other, that apprehends the cause to be such, can justly profess himself to do; tho' he do in the mean time all whatever the Law of God and Man requires of him as a true Loyal Subject. 3. That *Clement* the X. his *Bulla Cane*, being the Bull quoted by you (in your Margent) for extending to Subjects the Censure of *Paul* the IV. his Bull against Princes that favour Hereticks, can signifie nothing at all (as no more does that very Bull of *Paul* the IV. nor any other Bull of whatever Pope or matter, which you quote against Papists, nor indeed can signify any kind of thing) out of the Temporal Jurisdiction of the Pope, but where 'tis particularly receiv'd and submitted to. That so *Bulla Cane* (who ever the Pope was that publish't it) never was receiv'd neither any where nor at any time in the Dominions of *Great Britain*; no, nor in the very *Spanish Low-Countries* hard by us; much less in *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*; tho' otherwise holding strict Communion with the Pope. All the *Roman-Catholicks* (for only them I mean of all these and those Countries) to this very day reject and scorn all Bulls of the *Supper* (as they are call'd) tho' publish't at *Rome* once every year with the greatest Solemnity that can be: the Pope himself being still present at the Ceremonious.



Rite. Besides, who sees not that even the Popes themselves, with all their ambitiously devoted Divines, daily both in Life and Death, and Rites, and Sacraments, without any previous absolution desir'd or given, communicate with those Princes and Subjects too, whom, otherwise, they pretend obnoxious to the *Excommunications* of those two very *Bulls* you thought fit to quote, to ground your *Dilemma*.

So that after you had gone a great way about to pick up materials for giving at least some colour to your *Dilemma*, your Lordship had very bad luck to pitch only on those two *Bulls*, viz. That of *Paulus Quartus* excommunicating all Princes that are or shall be *Fautores Hæreticorum*, and the *Bulla Cane*, Excommunicating also Subjects guilty of the same Canonical Crime. Nor had you better luck in fixing upon such a point, or such words in both as cannot by any means serve Your Lordship to infer any of your Consequences from either branch of your horned Argument, no, not for inferring your very first consequence from the first of them. For suppose I had even granted that the Papists do not *favour* His Majesty in the proper Canonical Notion of this word [*Favour*] as imply'd in the meaning of those other two words [*Fautores Hæreticorum*.] would it follow that they do not *Favour* him in our own usual notion of the same word as importing or signifying all Love, Duty, Fidelity, good Wishes and hearty Obedience of true Loyal Subjects to His Majesty? Nothing less I am certain, and your  
self

self by this time cannot but see. Unless peradventure you say and mean it, that the Primitive Christians could not be Loyal Subjects to any of the *Roman* Emperors or Kings either of other Nations that were not Christians and *Catholicks* too themselves.

*Eleventh Reason.* That it is very strange to hear a Christian Bishop calling it in question whether there be any such thing as *another, a Spiritual Effect* (of Excommunication) *which concerns the Soul, and is the greatest mischief and misery it is capable of.* That, certainly the sense not only of all *Catholick* Schools, but Christian Churches, has been hitherto; That that kind of Excommunication which is call'd the *Greater*, and is properly not a bare Canonical punishment, but an Ecclesiastical and Evangelical Censure, depending purely on the Jurisdictional Power of the Keys of the Church, given to the Church by our Saviour; when it is pronounc't [*non errante Clave*] by him who has both sufficient Authority, and a sufficient Cause to pronounce it, must have *another, a Spiritual Effect on the Soul* of the Person Excommunicated: That he is truly thereby, till he repent, deprived, *even before God*, of all the Sacraments, all the suffrages, and all the Spiritual graces and helps of the Church, and consequently, of all the very Communion of Saints. That, while in that State, he is not only to be reputed by all the Faithful as a Heathen and Publican, but is certainly expos'd more than he was before to the Power of Invisible Demons, and their manifold assaults.

That,

That, even by the plain letter of the Gospel it self, and Tradition too of all Ages, without any contradiction it appears, that he is bound fast in his Sins by a sentence that Christ himself has promis't should be *bound in Heaven*; never to be loosed but by Repentance and humble submission to that very sentence of the Church on Earth. That here is a dreadful Effect of that kind of Excommunication, without any corporal punishment, restraint, seizure, pecuniary mulct, legal incapacity, deprivation of estate, civil, political or temporal Rights, or House, or Goods, or Wife, or Children, or Servants, or Subjects, or any thing due from them. And therefore, I beseech your Lordship, what else can that dreadful effect of Excommunication be, or can it be other indeed, than *another, a Spiritual Effect*, properly such, *concerning* and affecting the Soul most intimately, as the *greatest mischief and misery it is capable of in this Life*? Or can you your self perswade your own Soul, that the loss of all Spiritual comforts and graces, and the very stain and guilt of Sin, and withal to be bound fast therein by the sentence of Heaven it self, and consequently, bound over to undergo the punishments of it in Hell (if not truly and timely repented of) is not such *another, a Spiritual Effect, concerning the Soul, &c*? If you can, I must desire the Bishop of Lincoln's leave to tell him: 1. That *One Thousand Two Hundred Years* since the Divine Bishop of Hippo, St. *Augustin* was of a far other judgment (*contra Adversarios Leg. & Prophet.*

Prophet. 1. 1. c. 17.) where he asserts in very clear terms \* that an

Excommunicated Person, truly and deservedly such, is ty'd more bitterly and unhappily by the Keyes of the Church, than he could be by any the most grievous & hardest chains either of Iron or Adamant; nay, punish't more grievously than if he were either kill'd by the Sword,

or consumed by Fire, or torn in pieces by wild Beasts. 2. That, of the same judgment with St. Austin, has been so near our own dayes the very Archbishop of Spalata himself, *Marcus Antonius a Dominis*, notwithstanding his being so favourable in all points to the Reformation of England. See him, in his *Respublica Ecclesiastica*, throughout the 9th. Chapter of his 5th. Book; but particularly Num. 14. where he is clearly and diffusely for all those very *Spiritual Effects*, how terrible soever they be, which your Lordship questions. Especially Num. 32. where in express formal words he asserts it \* for one of the true Effects of this formidable censure, that it separates even from the Invisible Body of Christ;

and consequently, from the Invisible Communion of Saints. 3. That after all this, and

\* Alligatur homo a-marius & infelicius Ecclesie clavibus, quam quibuscumque gravissimis & durissimis ferreis vel Adamantinis nexibus.

Illud enim quod ait, Si nec Ecclesiam audierit, sit tibi tanquam Ethnicus & Publicanus, gravius est quam si gladio feriretur, si flammis absumeretur, si feris objiceretur. Aug.

† Secus est de illis quos nominatim, clave non errante ligat & abjicit, quia illi etiam ab Invisible Christi Copore separantur. Spalat.

much



much more which your own great Learning can tell you might be added concerning this Point, if your Lordship will persist in your insinuation as if there were no such Internal, Invisible, purely Spiritual, and truly dreadful effect of the Greater Excommunication, duly pronounc't *non errante clave*, what I could say farther, is not only that, next declaring manifestly for plain *Erastianism* you give the Church and Episcopal Jurisdiction thereby, as much as lies in you, the deadliest wound a professed Enemy could wish; but certainly, that no abuse either of Excommunication it self, or of it's Canonical Effects, by any Popes or other Prelates, can justify your calling in question the true, Spiritual, Evangelical and necessary Effects of it *on the Soul*, when it issues from *an unerring Key*. 4. That consequently if *Lindwood* spoke only of such Excommunicates as truly and justly before God, lie under that dreadful Censure; and if his Metaphor be fairly and equitably understood to import no other than that, as the Communion of Saints, while they enjoy'd it, made them true Members of the Mystical Body of Christ; so, being now deprived of that Communion, and in a special manner deliver'd over to *Sathan's*, they are, by consequence, in a true Metaphorical sense, become Members of his Accursed Body; and will continue so, till they repent heartily of their evil: I see no reason you have to wonder at his expression. 5. That *Gregory* the VII. judicial Sentence against the Emperour *Henry* the IV. decreeing him to be not  
only

only Depos'd and Excommunicated, but eternally damn'd at the Tribunal of God himself, (which you quote *Baronius* for) must however have had this implicit reserve (as all such sentences had the like) *If he did not repent*. And that it had such a reserve, appear'd soon after, when that very *Gregory* himself, upon *Henry's* submission, revers't it throughly, and receiv'd him to Communion in the Castle of *Mathildis* at *Canusium*.

*Twelfth Reason*. That your just indignation against the too frequent Abuses (especially at *Rome*) of that Divine Censure of the Church, Excommunication, and consequently of the Celestial Power of the Keyes from which it ought to proceed, has a little too far transported you both in your Inference from the foresaid one Particular of the Sentence of *Gregory* the VII. against *Henry* the IV. and in your Criticism too upon the Titles prefix't in the *Bullarium Cherubini* to some damnatory Bulls. I mean, where you charge the Popes who have issu'd those Bulls, with having by them *intended and desir'd even the Eternal Damnation of Soul and Body of those that were sentenc't in them*. For, undoubtedly, nothing can be more manifest and clear than that both the particular Church of *Rome*, and all the Schools and Churches too of her Communion any where throughout the World, have, at least ever since the *Novatian* Heresy first began, above 1400 years since, even to this very present, perpetually not only taught, but practic't the contrary; that is, that all both Sins and Censures,

fures, how enormous soever *those*, or how solemn soever *these* have been, or may be, are notwithstanding, pardonable and absolvable, and have been so still alwayes from the beginning, and ought and must be so still hereafter, pardon'd by the Church upon true submission of the Criminal. Which is so clearly beyond all contradiction, both true and publickly known, that even the Council of *Trent* (*Sess.* 14. *de Pœnitentia.* cap. 17.) has declar'd so

|| *Veruntatem; pie admodum, ne hac ipsa occasione aliquis pereat, in eadem Ecclesia Dei custoditum semper fuit, ut nulla sit Reservatio in Articulo mortis; atque ideo omnes Sacerdotes, quoslibet penitentes a quibusvis peccatis & Censuris absolvere possunt.* Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 14. *de Pœnit.* c. 7°.

much expressly, nay particularly, and singularly,

|| That in the Article or point of death there is no *Reservation* at all of any sin or censure to higher Powers for what concerns Absolution; but that any Priest, how inferiour or simple soever he be, may at that time absolve all manner

of Penitents from all sins and Censures whatsoever. Whence it is clear enough that the Church of *Rome*, (take her in what sense you please) neither *intends* nor *desires* the *Eternal Damnation* of any Soul or Body, not even by her most solemn Excommunications or Anathema's; but their amendment, correction and repentance where the Cause requires it. For, altho' indeed when the greater Excommunication is duely pronounc'd *Non errante clave*, the Person *Excommunicated* is really cut off for the present from the Mystical Body of Christ;

Christ; yet still this Reserve is understood so, that upon his repentance the Church must admit him again to membership and Communion with the Saints; as your Lordship may read even in the Archbishop of *Spalata* himself (*Supra Num. 16.*) *Ita tamen* (sayes he) *ut resipiscentem semper denuo complectatur Ecclesia.* And therefore, your Lordship might well enough have spar'd your Criticism on the Title of those damnatory Bulls, that is, on the word [*Damnatio*] added to them by the Collector of 'em. He was himself a Canonist, and presuming (whether right or wrong, is another question) they had proceeded from an unerring Key, from sufficient Authority, and for a just Cause, evidently such, he would make use of the Canonical Phrase. *11. q. 3. cap. 14. (ex Concilio Meldensi cap. 36.)* where the greater Excommunication is expressly called *Aeterna mortis Damnatio.* Not that either he, or the Authours of that Canon, did mean that the pronouncers or inflictors of of any (even the most grievous) Ecclesiastical Censure, Excommunication or Anathema, would thereby intend or desire the Eternal Damnation either of Soul or Body of the Excommunicate Person; but only that they would signify the Greater Excommunication or Anathema, duely fulminated, *Clave non errante*, to be so effectually dreadful in it self, that without hearty repentance of the Offender, it must of necessity render him obnoxious to *Eternal Death*; tho' very much contrary to the desire and design of the Excommunicater him-



himself; who only for a time deliver'd him over to *Satan*, as *Paul* did the incestuous *Corinthian*, on purpose that his Spirit might be safe in the day of our Lord. So that if he perish or be *Damn'd* he must attribute it wholly to his own unrepenting heart, not to any ill intention or ill desire of the Church Excommunicating him. Which is a sufficient return to your Criticism. I only add, that I will yet hope your transport of zeal in this matter did wholly proceed from your just indignation against unjust Excommunications, and not from any erroneous opinion concerning either those Spiritual, invisible and formidable Effects of just Excommunications, or the Celestial Power of the Keys given to the true Church of Christ. But your Lordship is best acquainted with your own thoughts. Of this I dare assure my self, that seeing the *Roman-Catholick* Doctors have in this matter so much to say for themselves out of the plain Text of the Gospel, and plain sense thereof, as deliver'd us from the Ancient Primitive Church by the Bishop of *Hippo* (to say nothing more of the concurrence of *Spalartensis*) it had been much more becoming the Bishop of *Lincoln* to have rather said nothing of this matter, than by way of aggravation, reproach and scorn (if I understand your Lordship right) to tell us, *They* (the Papists) say there's another, a Spiritual Effect (of Excommunication) that concerns the soul, &c.

*Thirteenth and last Reason.* (1.) That your 42d. page (with the other three that immediately follow) rendring in *English* the famous

Third

Third Canon of the Great Council of *Late-  
ran*, and by Marginal Notes [p. 42, & 43.]  
remitting us also to the Council of *Constance*,  
Sess. 39. *In forma Professionis a Papa faciendæ*,  
and to the Council of *Trent*. Sess. 25. *de Refor-  
mat. cap. 20.* is, beyond all excuse, a clear,  
manifest, undeniable Evidence, that there are  
Translations no way right, and References  
too, which are extreamly wrong, in this your  
Lordships Book, how precise and just soever  
you pretend the Quotations of it to be. (2.)  
That so is also, at least, as to the particu-  
lar of your References, your 36<sup>th</sup>. page no less  
a convincing evidence against your quoting  
e'en no fewer than nine several Chapters of  
the Canon Law which have not so much as  
one word to the purpose you quote 'em for.  
(3.) That so is again, for matter of Translation,  
your 113 page, a very unanswerable proof,  
that your Englishing the Latin Text of the  
Council of *Constance*, Sess. 19. imposes plainly  
on the Reader.

But altho' these be not the only pages in  
your Book, which may be instanced against  
your Translations and References both; yet I'll  
trouble your Lordship with no more at present;  
because I am sure, those I have alledg'd al-  
ready are sufficient to ground this last complex,  
thirteenth Reason of mine. Neither will I  
enlarge any farther in this place, to deduce,  
illustrate, or prove more fully or particularly  
any of the above three Heads which ground  
it: because I must return to each of 'em again  
in their more proper places: that is, where

I answer in order the main arguments of your Book. For there it is, I must of necessity not only enlarge upon 'em, but shall so distinctly, clearly and fully prove what I answer briefly here: that, after you have read all with due attention, I'll dare appeal to your Lordships own impartial Judgment, whether I have not said enough to convince your Book of several, and even material *Translations*, that are no way right; and both several and material References too, that are extremely wrong.

#### Section. XIV.

**W**Herefore, to return back now where I was before I enter'd on so long a digression of those *Thirteen* Points drawn out of your Book, and as many *Reasons* of my own to oppose them: What I said before, I must now say again, That, were I willing to multiply the Points of our Disagreement, on every occasion your Lordship gives, I could not only justly mind you of those *Thirteen Points* themselves, but of those *Reasons* too, or brief Discourses of my own against them; that you might see I had sufficient Grounds to offer them to your consideration. But my Design being to retrench, and not to multiply our Disagreements, I shall reduce the Points we differ in, to the least of Numbers: Two.

The *First* is your Lordships, if not formal, at least virtual and consequential Assertion

all along, every where in your Book, as the clear Design of your *Title-Page*, of your only Position, of your Reasons for both, of your final Inference, of your Challenge that follows, and consequently, of the whole of your Book, *viz.* That all *Catholick* Churches, People, and Persons of the Bishop of *Rome's* Communion, throughout the world, are, by the very Essentials of their Religion, bound at least to believe, as *Roman-Catholick* Verities, All, even the very worst of those *Eighteen* Positions, which you call by the name of *Papery*, and say they are approved by the Church of *Rome*.

The *Second* is, that virtual Assertion too of your foresaid *Ten* Suppositions; or (which is the same thing) your supposing likewise throughout your Book, those other *Ten* Doctrines aforesaid, either to be held by all *Roman-Catholicks*, as part of their Divine Belief, or at least to be receiv'd and own'd by them as unquestionable Truths.

Behold, my Lord, in short, the only Two material Points of our Disagreement. Whereof the former being that of your only main Undertaking, and Scope of your Book, is undoubtedly such, that I must eternally Disagree with your Lordship in it. And I must acknowledge, there is nothing else in that very Book of yours; nothing at all, how Erroneous soever appearing otherwise to me, could have engag'd me to write against a *Prelate* of your great Dignity in the *Church of England*; tho', being once engag'd, I saw



it both expedient and necessary to take notice of your *Ten* Suppositions too. For, as your Lordship, to carry on your main design of Charging unanswerably those former *Eighteen Popish* Principles, on the very Belief, or Faith of the *Roman-Church*, even taken in her diffusive Latitude, saw it was of absolute necessity for you to impose on the credulity of your Reader, those *Ten* Suppositions at the same time: So I, to Answer your Charge, have judg'd it no less necessary for me to take notice of them here; that, by shewing the Sandiness, Looseness, and Falsity of them, as they are Charg'd by you, on the Belief or Faith, or even on the Opinion, Perswasion, Reception, or Practise either, of that Communion in general: I might, without more ado, utterly Ruine the whole Superstructure of your Book, built only on them as their sole Foundation. For the Case stands clearly thus, that, unless those Suppositions be kindly and freely granted you, since your Lordship brings not one Argument, nor colour or attempt of an Argument to prove them, your whole Fabrick, how specious soever, falls to ground, and crumbles even to dust. As, on the other side, were they so granted, and much more, were they otherwise in themselves True, as you charge them, I could not deny your Fabrick well and firmly built, at least as to a great part of your Charge, and several of those Arguments brought to prove it.

But to the end, that neither your Lordship, nor any other for you, may pretend I have

have unjustly charg'd you with the former of those two material Points of our Disagreement, I would fain know whether, if any, who has thoroughly consider'd your Book, and would turn the said only Grand Position of it into a formal Syllogism, could in reason disallow of this here prepar'd to his hand, as best suiting to his purpose, *viz.*

Whatsoever Church is by an Essential tye of her Religion, bound to believe as part of her Faith and Creed, all and every of the most horrible of those *Seventeen* or *Eighteen* Positions aforesaid, must be confest to approve and own, and even believe those very Doctrines of *Popery*, that (*When believ'd and practic'd*) are not only dangerous, but pernicious to Kings, (especially to those who are Protestants) prejudicial to the Just Rights of Monarchy, and inconsistent with that Loyalty, which (by the Laws of Nature and Scripture) is due to them.

But the *Roman* Church, even as consider'd in her diffusive Latitude, or as comprehending all Churches, People, and Persons that hold Communion with the *Pope*, is, by an Essential tye of her Religion, bound to believe as part of her *Faith* and *Creed*, even all and every of the most horrible of those *Seventeen* or *Eighteen* Positions aforesaid.

Therefore the *Roman* Church, even as consider'd in her diffusive Latitude, or as comprehending all Churches, people and persons, that hold Communion with the *Pope*, must be confest to approve, own, and even believe

those very Doctrines and Principles of *Popery*, that (*When believ'd and practis'd*) are not only dangerous, but pernicious to Kings (especially to those who are Protestants) prejudicial to the Just Rights of Monarchy, and inconsistent with that Loyalty, which (by the Law of Nature and Scripture) is due to them.

For my own part, I cannot, for my life, imagine, how any that would turn either your *Title-page*, or your only *Grand Position* [p. 3.] according to the true intent of your whole Book, into a formal Syllogism, could in any reason disallow of this now given. Neither can I persuade my self, That any Judicious unbiass'd Man living, can, in his Conscience, judge it not to be full and comprehensive. And, therefore, now that I have fairly (as I hope) represented the several Points, both of our Agreement and Disagreement: I see not much remaining for this *Section*. Only, to instruct the Reader a little more fully beforehand, or (which is the same thing) partly to prevent some mistakes, which otherwise might possibly happen hereafter about my meaning; and, partly, to clear those other (if any such other have been) that by occasion of some Expressions of mine, have perhaps already prepossessed him; I think it not improper to annex here, these following Advertisements; all of them being such as are either only, or chiefly at least, to that purpose.

*First Advertisement.* That our Disagreement is not concerning the Truth or Falsehood

hood of any of those foresaid *Eighteen* Positions, or *Ten* Suppositions either, as in themselves abstractedly taken (tho' I, for my own part, hold every one of both sorts, in whatever consideration, to be very false;) but is only concerning meer Matter of Fact, viz. Whether the *Roman* Church in her diffusive Latitude (or as comprehending all other National Churches and People of her Communion) *Does* either believe, or approve, or own them; or *Does not*? So that all our Disagreement may be reduc'd at last to the narrow compass of this only Question; which I am sure is not a Question of *Right*, but of meer Matter of *Fact*.

*Second Advertisement.* That, because in Answer to that only *Quære* about Matter of Fact, as your Lordship is for the *Affirmative*, and I for the *Negative*; so 'tis fit, that as you have laid down your Position, I should likewise lay down mine; For this Reason, and especially that no ground of mistake may be left, about what I intend for my *Negative*, I give it here in two distinct formal clear Positions, without any kind of Reserve left my self to evade or shuffle; nay, with a far greater scope left your Lordship to Prove your Charge, than is provided for you by your self in any part of your Book, without plain dodging and prevarication.

My *First Position* is, *That the Church of Rome in her diffusive Latitude, as comprehending all other Churches in Communion with the Bishop of Rome, does neither believe as matter of Divine*



*Faith, nor own, nor approve, no nor tolerate, not even as matter of meer Humane or probable Opinion, any of those foresaid eighteen Popish Positions, which my Lord of Lincoln charges on her.*

My Second Position is, That the Church of Rome, taken in such a Latitude, neither believes as matter of Faith, nor owns, nor approves, nor admits at all, in any other manner for sound or true Doctrine, any of those other Ten Tenets, which, without any Proof, my Lord of Lincoln will needs suppose to be Hers. (And which therefore I call his Lordships ten bare, naked Suppositions.) Now these being my avow'd Positions, there can be no Dispute hereafter about the meaning and extent of my *Negative*; nor by consequence can there be any about my Undertaking, or Province in this Apologetical Answer. As no more indeed can there be any doubt whether I have not, by those two Positions of mine, given your Lordship a far greater scope to lay home your Charge against that Church, at least in some kind of sence (if you could with Truth in any) than you your self have provided for any where in your whole Book. For the truth is, that for ought you have said in it, I might, for a full Answer to it have contented my self with defending only the Divine Belief or Faith of that Church, from being Answerable for any either of your Positions or Suppositions. But however, I have chosen so to explicate and defend the Sence of my *Negative*, that I would oblige my self to defend Her, even as to those  
other

other respects of meer Opinion, Approbation, Permission, or Toleration, from your Lordships unjust attacque of Her. And I have been induc'd to do this for these Four Reasons. (1.) Because there is no kind of stress in any of your Arguments, that could deterr me from it. (2.) Because, that in this occasion both Truth and Justice requir'd I should do it. (3.) Because to some Judicious Men it would peradventure not signify much to defend the Divine Belief or Faith (strictly taken) of the Church from Errors, if She could not be defended from being over-run with pernicious Opinions, that mostly guide Men in the Practical part of their Life. (4.) And particularly too, because most Illustrious Writers, even of your own *Protestant Church of England*, have long before me, done the Church of *Rome*, in her foresaid diffusive Latitude or Communion, as much Right in this whole Matter, as I can think my self oblig'd to do Her. Of which more at large hereafter.

*Third Advertisement.* That lest any should pretend, that notwithstanding these two Positions of mine, I retain still the liberty of expounding in such a manner, what I mean, at least by the *Roman-Church*, in Her diffusive or *largest comprehension*, as may serve to elude your Charge; first by instancing only in a few Writers or some small number of those of Her Communion that neither did believe as matter of Faith, nor otherwise in any sence approve of the foresaid *Papish* Positions; &, then  
by

by saying, that any such number, how small soever, must prove your Charge against the whole Universality of that Communion to be absolutely false (since nothing can be more clear and true than that every Universal includes all Particulars of the kind :) Therefore, I thought fit to explain my self yet farther, and hereby declare, that I never intended to take so petty an advantage of your Lordship. Nay, that I have been, am, and shall continue still so much of another mind, that, if by Witnesses beyond all Exception, and the Notoriety of the things themselves, in the face of all *Europe*, I do not manifestly evince, that, not only a very great Number of particular Writers, nor only a very considerable number too of whole Universities, but even whole Nations, States, Kingdomes, National Churches, of the Pope's Communion, are utterly against either believing or approving any of those *Eighteen* Positions, charged by your Lordship on that Communion : I am content to be reputed e'en a trifling Answerer of your Book. Tho' nevertheless, I must be at the same time of this Opinion too, that even a very few Learned, especially *Classick*, Writers of that Communion, declaring purposely, positively and constantly against any controverted Positions, may be to any considering Man a sufficient Ground of Perswasion, that such Doctrines were not in their time either believ'd as matter of Faith, or otherwise at all approved or own'd by the Great Body of the *Roman - Catholick* Church.

*Fourth and Last Advertisement* : That my Reasons for the Negative against your Lordships Affirmative, *i. e.* against your positive Charge of the foresaid eighteen Positions, may be reduc't under one or other of these two general Heads. 1. That none of all your different sorts of Arguments are conclusive of your purpose. 2. That, besides, there are positive, manifold and clear demonstrations of the most notorious matters of Fact that can be, if not in all, at least in almost all *Roman-Catholick* Kingdoms, States and Churches throughout *Europe* against your affirmative heavy Charge.

## Section. XV.

**B**Eing thus over all my Preliminaries, and Consequently, where I would be to give my Reasons in the first place against your *Suppositions* : I shall employ this present and the three next following Sections wholly on that Subject. For, albeit your Lordship gives no Reason at all for imposing them so upon the Reader, as if they were either certainly believ'd as Points of Faith, or at least received as unquestionable in the *Roman* Diffusive Church : I'll challenge no such privilege for my denying 'em to be such ; tho' others in such a case as mine would plead that privilege, as most certainly due to the defender, where the Aggressor has no kind of title to it. But *Nobis non licet esse tam disertis*. And therefore to come now to an issue on this point of your *Suppositions*, which as it is one of the two material Points of our Disagreement, so I put it  
here



here as the first of them in order: I repeat again my Proposition or Position concerning it, and say positively; that *None of all your aforesaid Ten Suppositions or Doctrines contain'd in them, is either believ'd as matter of Divine Faith, or otherwise at all either own'd or approv'd, or allow'd of in any sense for sound or true Doctrine by the Roman-Catholick Church, taken (as before) in her diffusive latitude.*

Not the first of them; viz. That the Pope is the only Supreme Judg in her under Christ; and this even to the degree of absolute Superiority in Him over General Councils themselves. Against this leading *Supposition* of yours, there are these convincing Reasons.

I. Nothing is more uncontestably true than that the first *Pisan* Council was of a contrary judgment, even that very General Council, which first deposed *Benedict* the XIII. and *Gregory* the XII. for their collusion, fraud and notorious perjury. Which next elected in their stead the truly virtuous Holy Pope *Alexander* the V. Which also was by the same lawful Pope *Alexander* twice Confirm'd; once in the 21 Session thereof; and soon after again the second time on his Bed of Death. Which ever since has been received as General and Venerable by the Occidental Church far and near; whatever *Bellarmin* would insinuate to the contrary, when he places it among those General Councils of his *Nec approbata, nec reprobata*. Which lastly, was the Council that by such effectual Demonstrations of it's own truly Supream Power, and by what besides may be read in the 13<sup>th</sup>. Session,

Session, gave the first deadly stroke to this Errour of the Papal Supremacy over General Councils, and crush't it in the very shell; for then it was first broach't in the World, tho' your Lordship will needs suppose it here a Doctrine of that Church.

2. Nothing can be better known among the learned than that the General Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, the former *Sess. 4. & 5.* the later, *Sessione 3.* have expressly, *in terms*, declared the Supreme Power of the Church Militant, under Christ, over all the Faithful, even over the Pope himself, to be in the General Councils, as to defining matters of Faith, abolishing of Schisms, and reforming the Church both in the Head and Members: and that all persons whosoever, and amongst others, the very Pope himself, is bound to obey and be subject to their Decrees, (even to Deposition) in what belongs to any of those three points.

3. Nothing can be clearer than the real and actual Practice of that Supream Authority of Councils over the Pope, not only in those thirteen several Instances or Monuments thereof in the Council of *Constance*, which the Learned *Richerius* has particularly and singularly well observ'd; but in at least as many more in the Council of *Basil*.

4. Nothing can be more certainly true than the Practice also of Appeals by Inferiours from the Bulls of diverse Popes to a future General Council; whereof we have at least four several Instances in the very University of *Paris*:

viz.

viz. their Appeal, *An. 1491. Sept. 13.* from the Bull of *Innocent* the VIII. enjoining them to pay the Tythes of their Revenues to the Apostolick Chamber of *Rome*. Their Appeal on the 18th. of the same Month from those appointed by the Pope to execute that Bull. Their Appeal in the year 1501. from the like Bull of *Alexander* the VI. And their Appeal *An. 1517.* from the Statutes of *Leo* the X. both in his pretended General Council of *Lateran*, and his *Concordates* also with *Francis* the I. tho' their own acknowledg'd and be-

\* *Richerius* Hist. Conc. Constant. p. 259. & 262, Edit. Colon. in 4°.

loved King. To say \* nothing here of many other Appeals; not even of that of the *Polanders* from *Martin* the V. mention'd by *Richerius*; nor of that of the whole *Franciscan Order*, in a General Chapter of theirs at *Perusium* from *John* the XXII. recorded by *Aventinus*: Nor even of that of *Charles* the VII. King of *France*, *An. 1460. 10 Novem.* from *Pius* the II. and his Bull *Execrabilis*; which Appeal the same *Richerius* has given us at large (*lib. 4. part. i. Hist. Concil. p. 37. & sequentibus. Edit. Colon. in 4°.*) Nor, lastly, of that of the University of *Paris* too from the same *Pius*; an Appeal which the Rector of that University declar'd even before the very face of his Legat; as *Richerius* (*ibid. p. 61.*) tells us. Besides, we have as well a more early Appeal of the German *Joannes Semeca* (Provost of *Halberstat*, and the First Glossator on *Gratians* Decree) from *Clement* the

the IV. *An.* 1268. as a later by the Emperor and King of *Spain*, *Charles* the V. himself, to a future General Council from *Clement* the VII. *An.* 1526. and both recorded by *Spondanus*; the former *ad An.* 1268. Num. 11. and the later *ad An.* 1526. Num. 4.

5. Nothing is more evident in the Conciliary Acts, then that not only *John* \* the XXIII. (the Pope that call'd, pre-  
 sided in, and was at last deposed by the Council of *Constance*) but *Martin* the V. who succeeded him, did confirm the aforesaid Decrees of the fourth and fifth Session of that Council, for the Supreme Authority of all General Councils over the Popes. That *John* had done so before he was really deposed: and *Martin* did it both in the end of the 45<sup>th</sup>. Session, being the last of that Council; and in his Bull dated at *Constance* 8° *Cal. Martij*, *Pontificatus An.* 1°. Nor is any thing more undeniably evident than that *Eugenius* the IV. by his Bull dated at *Rome*, *An.* 1433. 16° *Kal. Jan.* in the third year of his Pontificate, confirm'd the Definitions of the Council of *Basil* Sess. 3. and consequently those also of the 4<sup>th</sup>. and 5<sup>th</sup>. Session of *Constance*, inserted and renew'd therein, concerning the Supremacy of Councils over the Pope.

6. Nothing is or can be more undoubtedly certain, than that the 40<sup>th</sup>. Article of *Wicleff* being in these terms [Non est de necessitate salutis credere Romanam Ecclesiam esse Supremam inter alias Ecclesias] To believe the Ro-  
 man

\* See *Richerius* lib. 2. p. 157.



*man Church to be Supreme amongst other Churches, is not necessary for salvation; was by the Fathers of the Council censur'd only thus [Error est si per Romanam Ecclesiam intelligat Universalem Ecclesiam aut Concilium Generale, aut pro quanto negaret Primatum summi Pontificis super alias Ecclesias particulares]* 'Tis an Error if by the Roman Church it understands the Universal Church, or a General Council, or forasmuch as it would deny the Primacy of the Pope over other particular Churches. Where this must be very observable, that as they censure it only as Erroneous, not as Heretical; so, in reference particularly to the Pope, they condemn it only for denying not the Supremacy but the Primacy of the Pope over other particular Churches; and that also without determining or declaring in any manner at all whether this very Primacy be of Divine or only of Human Right.

7. Nothing also is less ambiguous than that not only the several *Roman-Catholick* Churches, Kingdoms and Nations of *Europe* have from the beginning all along till this very time received the foresaid Decrees of *Constance* and *Basil*, concerning the Supremacy of General Councils or their Superiority over the Pope; but particularly the whole *Gallican* Church has on all occasions most constantly adher'd to them and maintain'd them. Of which, besides the late and famous six Propositions or Declarations of the *Parisian* University. An. 1663. 8<sup>o</sup> Maij, presented to *Lewis* the XIV. and His Majesties

Edict

Edict in pursuance of them, the later yet and much more Famous \*

\* *Cleri Gallicani de Ecclesiastica potestate Declaratio. An. 1682.*

Declaration of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Representatives of the Clergy of *France*, in those other four or five Articles of the year, 1682. and the same *French* Monarch's very severe Edict thereupon, commanding that no contrary Doctrine be taught in *France*, may be a convincing proof.

8. Nothing is more unanswerably evident than the Tradition of the very particular Church or See of *Rome* it self, to the same purpose, for the Superiority of Councils over the Pope; as the most excellent Divine, *Joannes Launojus*, lately a Doctor of *Paris* has elaborately shewn and prov'd at large. First, by alledging the expresse Testimonies of thirty-five Popes for this point; † whereof *Silvester* the I. was the first, and *Pius Quintus*, the last. Secondly, By alledging || well nigh double that number, that is, at least full threescore Popes in all, from *Cornelius* the Martyr to the same *Pius* the V. inclusively, who have fairly acknowledg'd their own obligation to observe and be intirely subject to the Canons of General Councils, and not to transgress them in any measure or matter.

† Part. 1. *Epistolarum, Ep. ad Hieronymum Sambævium.*

|| Part. 3. *Epist. ad Thomam Rullandum.*

9. Again, nothing is more undoubtedly clear, than that the very Council of *Florence*, in the

T

Decree

Decree of Union, if (for what concerns the Pope) taken, not according to the corrupt version of *Abrahamus Cretenfis*, and crafty Publication thereof by *Horatius Justinianus*, An. 1638. but according either to the true and first *Latin* Edition of it by *Blondus*, *Marcus Viguierius*, *Joannes Eckius*, *Joannes Rossensis* & *Albertus Pighius*, or to the true Translation of the *Greek*, hath confirm'd the very same Doctrine. For notwithstanding that the *Greeks* in that Decree acknowledg the Primacy of the Holy Apostolick See, and that the *Roman* Bishop is Successor to Blessed *Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, and that to him in *Peter* full power of feeding, ruling and governing the Universal Church was given by our Lord Jesus Christ; yet, in the foresaid true *Latin* Edition, they immediately add these words: *Quemadmodum & in gestis Oecumenicorum Conciliorum & in sacris Canonibus continetur*: As likewise in the *Greek*, to the same purpose, according to the foresaid right Translation of them, those other, which are in effect the very same, *Juxta eum modum qui & in Actis Oecumenicorum Conciliorum & in*

\* *Launovius* Part. 3. Epist. ad *Thomam Rullandum*. p. 78.

*Sacris Canonibus continentur*; \* both of them, or *Latin* & *Greek*, importing

in *English* only thus much, According to that (or the) manner which is contain'd both in the *Acts* of *Oecumenical Councils*, and in the *Sacred Canons*; but not at all what our vulgar Edition has [*quemadmodum etiam*] Where, as there is no colour to think those Fathers of *Florence* by

by *Oecumenical Councils* understood any other than the former seven, held in the Eastern or *Greek Church* alone, or by sacred Canons any other than those which, by way of Excellency, are call'd *The Canons of the Universal Church*, viz. The Canons formerly receiv'd by both the *Greek* and *Latin Church*, the *Orient* and the *Occident*, *South* and *North* of *Christendom*; and, as we see it plain enough in the very words that they attribute only *Primatum*, a *Primacy* of Power over the whole *World*, not a *Supremacy*; and consequently, neither a *Vicarship*, nor *Headship*, nor a fulness, nor indeed any measure at all of that which is in reality and properly or strictly called *Jurisdictional Power*, to the Pope as given to Him by Christ in *Peter* to govern the *Universal Church*: so it is no less plain out of the later, which is the restrictive part of them, that the exercise of his Power whatever it be, is limited by them, is confin'd to the former Practice of *Oecumenical Councils*, and import of their sacred Canons; and both it, and Himself left wholly subject to both: being he was so before, according to the Acts of all former General Councils of both Churches, and their sacred Canons too. But of this somewhat more hereafter, which will illustrate what I said but now concerning no *Jurisdictional Power*, properly and strictly such, attributed by this *Florentin Council* to the Pope.

9. In the mean while, for my Ninth Reason, I refer your Lordship as I do all other Learned Readers for this whole matter, [of



the Supremacy or Superiority of General Councils over the Pope] not only in time of Schism, but in all times whatsoever, according to the Fifth Session of *Constance*, (to say nothing now of the 3<sup>d</sup>. Session of *Basil* which all know was held when there was no Schism at all) I refer you, I say, for this whole matter, First, to the Demonstrations thereof at large by the Illustrious Divine, *Richerius*; against the Sophistry of Cardinal *Caietan*, Cardinal *Bellarmin*, *Mariana*, and all the Tribe of their Followers that maintain the Usurpations of the Court of *Rome*, maugre both Scripture and manifest Tradition, and the sense it self of the Christian World against them. Next, I refer your Lordship to *Launoins*, in his Epistolar work, and his second Epistle quoted before *ad Christophorum Fauvæum*; where he treats only of this very point *in terminis*. Where he demonstrates at large this whole matter against the Paralogisms and shiftings of *Bellarmin*. Where he gives also another guess number of Catholick Divines for it than *Bellarmin* has. Where besides those of the foresaid General Councils of *Pisa*, *Constance* and *Basil*, and the Popes that confirm'd them, nay, and the more ancient Bishops of *Rome*, *Pius* the I. *Siricius*, *Cælestinus* the I. *Sixtus* the III. *Gregory* the I. *Leo* the III. and *Eugenius* the III. (remitting us for the rest of 35 Popes to his Epistle *ad Hieronymum Sambævium*, part 3. *Epistolarum*) and besides the few private Writers, in all but seven, quoted by *Bellarmin*, for this Doctrine, viz. The Cardinal of *Cambray*, *John Gerson*,  
*Jacobus*

*Jacobus Almainus*, Cardinal Cusan, *Panormitan*, the Cardinal of Florence, and *Tostatus Abulensis*; the first three of them French, the fourth a German; the fifth and sixth Italians, and the last a Spaniard; he gives an ample account not only of sixteen other Eminent Divines of the School of Paris alone, but of eight more of several other Schools and Nations for the same Doctrine; all of them, men of great esteem and fame, in their generations. He gives the places and passages too, both distinctly and diffusely of *Innocent the III.* Bishop of Rome, *Robertus Corceon* Presbyter Cardinal in *Celio Monte* at Rome, *Henricus Hassianus*, *Philippus* Abbot of St. Denis, *Thomas Corcellus*, *Joannes Major*, *Hadrianus Galterus*, *Judocus Clictovans*, *Petrus Ortesius*, *Joannes Arboreus*, *Claudius Confordius*, *Simon Vigorius*, *Claudius Sanctesius*, *Joannes Cotterellus*, and *Renatus Benedictus*; in all fifteen Divines of Paris, and all of them by Nation French, except only the first of them Pope *Innocent the III.* He quotes in like manner *Humbertus*, Prior General of the whole *Dominican* Order, when *Thomas of Aquin*, under his Obedience, flourish't in the *Parisian* School. He quotes also *Dionysius Carthusianus*, and *Joannes Eckius* out of Germany; *Thomas Illiricus* of the *Franciscan* Order, an Italian; *Joannes Driedo* of *Lovain*; *Dominicus Soto*, a Spanish *Dominican*, *Paulus Grisaldus* of the same Order, Cardinal *Clemens Monilianus*, a *Franciscan*; and *Joannes Maldonatus*, an Eminent Divine of the very *Ignatian* Order it self. So that, from first to last, he

quotes four and twenty Famous Divines of several Schools, Orders, Nations, besides those former seven allow'd us by *Bellarmin*. Nay, he quotes moreover for the same Doctrine a number still beyond all comparison far greater than that of four and twenty or one and thirty either: for he quotes in this very Epistle even the Great Bodies of the famous Universities of *Paris*, *Colen*, *Herford*, *Cracow*, (besides, on another occasion, not only *Vienna*, *Bologna*, *Padua*, *Siena*, in particular, but the Spanish Universities in general, *Ep. ad Henricum Barilolonum* Tom. 4.) He quotes the University of *Paris*, as well in its Answer to *Phillip the Fair*, *An.* 1303. as in its censures of the contrary opinion of *Montiforus* and of *Sarracenus*, *An.* 1429. and of *Angelius*, *An.* 1482. and both in their Treatise for the Liberties of the Church, compos'd, *An.* 1491. and in their Oaths, ever since renew'd and continu'd to this present, for maintaining that very Doctrine. He quotes the University of *Cracow*, in their Book on this Subject, written to *Ladislaus* King of *Poland* and *Hungary*; the University of *Herford* in their Treatise on the Union and Neutrality of Princes, &c. after the Council of *Constance*: The University of *Colen* in its Book to *Theodorick*, Archbishop of that See; and the University of *Lovain*, in *Joannes a Lovanio's* Work *de dogmat.* lib. 4. Lastly, he quotes even a much greater Authority than that of any Schools. He quotes even all the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers of the very General Council of *Florence*. And first the *Greeks* alone,  
but

but most fully to the purpose, Sess. 9. Then both *Greeks* and *Latins* together in the *Decree of Union*, as we have seen already ; but he illustrates farther by observing what the last Clause of that Decree contains in these words. [“Renewing moreover the Order deliver’d in “the Canons of the rest of the Venerable Patriarchs, “that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* be second after the “most Holy Bishop of *Rome*, the Patriarch of *Alexan-* “*dria* the Third, the Patriarch of *Antioch* the Fourth, “and the Patriarch of *Hierusalem* the Fifth, viz. All “*their Priviledges and Rights being safe.*”] Whence it must follow (sayes he) that as clearly as the Sun shines in his Meridian Glory, so clear it is that by this very Council of both Churches at *Florence*, *Eugenius* the IV. himself having confirm’d it, the Pope is intirely subject to œcumenical Councils, and their Canons, notwithstanding the foresaid either false Edition of the *Latin* by some Authors, or false corrupt version of the *Greek* by *Cretensis*, as I have before observed. And so say I, that a farther consequence must be, that the Enactors or Definers of this *Eugenian* Decree of *Union*, did not attribute to the Pope over the World or Universal Church on Earth, either any Vicarship, or Headship, or Fullness of such Power as really is or properly and strictly is call’d *Jurisdictional* Power.

This Decree not only restrains and limits his Power by the former words, *Quemadmodum*, &c. or, *Juxta eum modum*, &c. but by the later, *i. e.* the final clause, maintains and confirms the exemption of all the other four Patriarchal Sees from any such *Jurisdictional* Authority in the Pope over them ; since they



alwayes deny'd it, and therefore would have this final clause added to the former restraining words. Nor verily do I think any Man of sense will deny or dispute this consequence who considers calmly, *First*, That after Fifteen Months debate on the main controversy (at *Ferrara* and *Florence*) about the Holy Ghost; when, coming to an issue, *Eugenius* and his *Latins*, would have had four points more debated, whereof this of the *Papal Power* was one; the *Greeks* answer'd positively, and persisted in it, that they had no Commission from the *Greek* or other Churches of their Communion, to treat of any of them, or of any other question at all save only that of the *Holy Ghost*. *Secondly*, That when the extreme powerful importunity of *John Palaeologus* their Emperour, who was both in hast to return home, and in hope of some assistance from the *Latins* against the *Turks*, had at last prevail'd with them to yield to the inserting of three of those other Points in the Decree, that of the Pope's Titles and Power being one; yet they utterly rejected [*Secundum dicta Sanctorum*] the clause *Eugenius* and his *Latins* were so fond of to get it inserted; but which the Emperour himself declar'd against by answering smartly, [*An si quis sanctorum in Epistola honoret Papam, excipiet hoc pro Privilegio.*] What if any of the Saints complement the Pope in Honorable terms by Letter, will he challenge it as a Priviledge due to him or his See.] *Thirdly*, That hereupon [*Secundum dicta Sanctorum*] was, by consent of both Churches,

left

left out of the Decree, and instead thereof not only the foresaid Restriction, but the following provision for saving all the Priviledges and Rights of the other four Patriarchs added. *Fourthly*, That after all, that is notwithstanding these and several other condescensions of the *Latins*, even of *Eugenius* himself who was their Leader, the *Greeks* would not suffer any kind of *Anathematism* to be added. For so the *Greek History* of *Syropulus* (who was himself a Member of that Council for the *Greek Church*) and this History of his transcribed in our dayes out of the *French King's Library*, and translated into *Latin* by the Right Reverend Dr. *Creighton* Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, particularly relates. And so we see in the very *Latin History* of *Bessarion*, the Decree of *Union* ends without either *Anathema*, or other curse or penalty on the contradicters; tho' contrary to the practise of all General Councils before when they defin'd any Tenets of Faith. And so you have here even four considerations which I think sufficient to shew, that, notwithstanding all the specious Titles given the Pope in that Decree of *Union*, the Fathers that gave 'em were far enough from attributing thereby to His Holiness any either Vicarship, or Headship or Fulness of that kind of Power which is really such, or properly and strictly call'd, in the common acception of the word, *jurisdictional Power*, as given him by Christ over all particular Churches on Earth, tho' but separately taken. But, however that consequence be deriv'd

riv'd from those considerations, I am certain of this, they are more than enough to evince this other Truth, that the Fathers of *Florence* were extremely far from abridging, nay from not asserting the Supreme Power of General Councils over the Pope, when they are truly such, i. e. Lawful Representatives of all the Patriarchal Churches collectively taken.

10. Nothing can better assure us what was the sense of the *Gallican* Church, in particular, as to this whole matter, even then when the Council of *Trent* inclin'd to debate it, than the Cardinal of *Lorrain's* *Commonitorium* from *Trent* to his Secretary at *Rome*, *Joannes Brito*, dated, 1553. 19<sup>o</sup> Cal. Feb. to be represented in his name, to the then Pope *Pius* the

\* *Launoius* part. 4.  
Epist. ad *Antonium Fau-*  
*veum*.

IV. *Launoius* repeats it more than once in his Epistles; but particularly in that to *Antonius*

*Fauveus*; and these are the Words of it *English't*.

["There remains the last of those Titles derived from the Council of *Florence*, which they would give our most Blessed Father. But I cannot deny my self to be a *Frenchman*, and Member of the University of *Paris*; wherein 'tis held that the Bishop of *Rome* is subject to the Council; and who teach otherwise are there noted for *Hereticks*. Among the *French* the Council of *Constance* is, for all parts of it, accounted General; that of *Basil* is in Authority; but the *Florentin* rejected as neither Lawful nor General. And, therefore, the *French* would sooner lose their Lives than depart from their Doctrin. All which being so, I cast my self prostrate at the Feet of His Holiness, and beseech him by the merciful bowels of our Saviour, that all such words and disputes may be at this

time

“time forborn. To an afflicted Kingdom affliction is  
 “not to be added. The *Catholicks* are all led and go-  
 “vern’d by the Divines, who will clamour up to Heaven.  
 “All the Priviledges and Liberties of the Kingdom are  
 “grounded only upon this Truth. And therefore, if such  
 “a Disputation be set on foot, it must turn only to the  
 “subversion of the Hearers; the Kingdom will be se-  
 “parated and distracted; and this will prove its common  
 “and extream bane. For, to believe that so much as  
 “one *Frenchman* will ever be found to consent to these  
 “things would be meer madness.

So this brave resolute Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to  
*Pius* the IV. himself; and so did he according-  
 ly behave himself at *Trent*, that he gain’d his  
 Point; which was, to hinder the Fathers from  
 giving the Pope those Flourishing Titles of the  
*Florentin* Council, or calling at all in question  
 the Superiority or Supremacy of Councils  
 over the Pope. And even so, both before  
 and after him from the very beginning, have  
 not only the Universities, but both the  
 Kingdom and Church of *France* continu’d  
 the defence of that Doctrine to this present  
 day.

II. Nor can any thing more pertinently or  
 more fully represent in what degree of cer-  
 tainty this Doctrine was held, even by the  
 very Generality of *European* Provinces, at least  
 a Hundred Years before the Cardinal of *Lor-  
 rain*’s time, than those three Points, call’d,  
*The three Verities*, defin’d by the Council of  
*Basil*, Anno 1439. Sess. 23. Where, by ver-  
 tue, and in prosecution of the Decrees of the  
 Fourth and Fifth Session of the Council of *Con-  
 stance* (five several times renew’d and con-  
 firm’d in this Council of *Basil*, viz. Sess. 2,



3. 12. 16. & 18.) the Fathers Enact and Define thus. (1.) *The Verity of the Power of a General Council representing the Universal Church, declar'd by the General Council of Constance, and this present of Basil, to be over the Pope, and every other Person whosoever, is a Verity of the Catholick Faith.* (2.) *This Verity, that a General Council, representing the Universal Church, actually and lawfully held, upon all or any thing declar'd in the foresaid Verity, cannot, without the same Councils consent, be at all by the Pope authoritatively dissolv'd, or prorogu'd to any other time, or Translated from one place to another, is a Verity of the Catholick Faith.* (3.) *Whoever contradicts these two Verities is to be held a Heretick.* Whence it appears in what Degree of Certainty those Fathers would have the foresaid Doctrine of the Superiority of Councils over the Pope, to be believ'd; and it will by other circumstances no less manifestly appear it was then held by the Generality of Europe with the same Certainty. For, at that very time, after that Councils defining those Verities, and in pursuance of them declaring the then Pope, *Eugenius the IV.* an *Heretick*, Excommunicated, and even Depos'd from the Papacy; and consequently, after his renewing again the Schism, by calling by his own sole Authority a new General Council to *Ferrara*, on pretence (forsooth) of receiving there the *Greeks*: Yea, after a new Summons publisht, both by him and the *Greek Emperour* joyntly, inviting all the *Latins* to meet in this *Ferrarian Council*, Translated within a while to  
*Florence;*

*Florence*; yet, notwithstanding, after all, the appearance of *Latins* in it, was so small, that the number of Bishops exceeded not *Fifty-eight* in the whole, and (which was most remarkable) those too almost all *Italians*. No *Western* Emperor, no King of *France*, nor other King or Prince of the *Latin* Church; no Orator, no Ambassador from any of them; save only one Orator, and one Ambassador from the Duke of *Burgundy* alone; who, to to help towards the making up a poor number (God knows) Subscrib'd it amongst those *Fifty-eight* Bishops, together, with Four Generals of Orders, and Forty Abbots. All the rest of the *Latin* Provinces at that very time generally adhering still to the Definers of the foresaid *Three Verities*, the Council of *Basil*. Whence it may be clearly judg'd in what a degree of Certainty (no less or other than even that of *Catholick Faith*) the Doctrine of the Supremacy of Councils over the Pope, was believ'd by the Generality of *Europe*, at that time.

12. Finally, all that can be added, will be but superfluous when I shall have mention'd the Canon *Frequens*, out of the preceding General Council of *Constance* it self, Enacted therein, *Oct. 9. An. 1417. Sess. 39.* That singular, I say, and necessary Canon, nay, that everlasting *Perpetual Edict*, as those Fathers themselves call it. Which not only is one of those thirteen great Monuments of that Council's Practise of their Authority over all Popes, but the most Illustrious of any that could be.

It

It extends to all, even future Popes for ever. It deprives them all for ever of the very chiefest Branch of those Papal Prerogatives their Predecessors had Usurp'd for so many Ages past, The calling of General Councils, and calling them only when and where they pleas'd; besides, Translating and Dissolving them as they listed. It Prefaces, First, the Necessity of frequent General Councils; and thence proceeds to a perpetual Edict in these very terms. [*Ea propter hoc Edicto perpetuo Sancimus, decernimus & ordinamus, &c.*] Therefore (say the Fathers) by this perpetual Edict, we Enact, Decree, and Order, That from henceforth General Councils shall be so held, that the First after this Council is Dissolv'd, be at the next Five Years end; the Second after that, when Seven Years more are expir'd: And from thenceforth, for ever, once in Ten Years, after the former is up, a new one be begun.

“That they shall be held in such places as shall, with  
 “the Approbation and Consent of the Council be named  
 “by the Great Bishop, a Month before it dissolve, or  
 “in case of his failure, by the Council it self: [*Ut sic per quamdam continuationem semper aut Concilium vigeat, aut per termini pendentiam expectetur*] That so, by a kind of continuation, the Council may alwayes retain its vigour, or be expected when the Period's over. “That, however the Pope may do upon some emergency for anticipating the term prefixed, it shall never be lawful for him to Prorogue it: No, nor change the place, neither, but only in the Extraordinary Cases, and “with the Provisions also there mentioned, &c.

I'll only add to an Instance and Monument so Illustrious, this farther Observation, that, in Obedience to it, Pope *Martin* the V. punctually

ally Summon'd the next General Council, to be held, as accordingly 'twas held, at the Five Years end at *Pavia*; and from thence Translated to *Siena*, and again from *Siena* to *Basil*; and the Fathers of *Basil* too continu'd, in pursuance of that Decree, sitting there for many Years; where 'tis likely the *Reformation* had been perfected, had not the Policy and Power of the *Court of Rome*, and the Fate of *Europe* cros't all the Endeavours of good Men. However, this is plain, that because of so many Instances of Obedience yielded to that Canon by *Martin* the V. himself and others, when there was no kind of Schism in the Occidental Church, it must be confest, That no Policy, no Power, no Fate could hinder the Doctrine of the Supremacy of General Councils over all Popes, from being the Doctrine of the Generality of all other Churches throughout *Europe* at that time, as well as of the *Church of France*.

Wherefore, to conclude at last my purpose from so many Premises of matter of Fact, I must say, that, If either the *General Council* of *Pisa*, wherein *Alexander* the V. was chosen Pope, be regarded; or the *General Council* of *Constance*, that ended the Schism by the effectual Deposition of three contending Popes, and Election of *Martin* the V. to succeed them, be consider'd; Or, the *General Council* of *Basil*, when there was no Schism, be of any moment. Or but the *General Council* of *Florence* it self, as receiv'd, tho' not by the *French*, yet



yet by some other *Catholick* Nations of the *West*, have any kind of Authority. Or, if the Confirmation of all these *Councils*, respectively, by *Alexander* the V. *John* the XXII. *Martin* the V. and *Eugenius* the IV. even of that of *Basil*, by this very *Eugenius*, to the *Sixteenth Session* thereof inclusively, be of any weight. Or, if the reception of all these four *General Councils* throughout so many *Catholick* Countries of *Europe*, either as to their Practice or Definition of this Doctrine, be of any value. Or, if the known Practice of Appeals from the Pope, to a future *General Council*, and this, both before and after *Pius* the II.'s Bull *Execrabilis*, to forbid them, be look't upon at all. Or, if the Old Tradition of the very See of *Rome* it self, acknowledg'd by thirty five Popes thereof, deserve a sober thought. Or, if two or three and Thirty Writers, part of them *Classick*, the rest of them Famous, all of them very Learned; and, together with them Eleven Universities, and, by consequence, in the Succession of so many Ages above Ten Thousand Doctors, who, altho' they did not Write, were notwithstanding, for the same Doctrine; nay, for the most part sworn to maintain it, be of any account. Or, if the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain's* *Communitorium*, for his time, and the *Three Verities* of *Basil*, and cap. *Frequens* of *Constance* for theirs, may merit our serious reflections. Or, if particularly, for what concerns *France* in our own Memory, not only the six Declarations

tions of the \* *Parisian* School 8<sup>o</sup> *May* 1663. presented to *Lewis* the XIV. but the Five Articles (*Depotestate Ecclesiastica*) concerning Ecclesiastical Power, so lately as the year 1682. declared at *Paris* by the Representatives of the whole *Gallican Church*, bear any force: And withal, if the two several Edicts of the said *Lewis* the XIV. issu'd under great Penalties for Teaching no Doctrine in *France*, contrary either to those former six Declarations, or these latter five Articles, || may be thought to add any thing to the Scale. If any, I say, of those Heads of my Reasons, at least, in conjunction with the two last that particularly concern *France*; and, much more, if all of them taken together as one intire Antecedent, be due-

restrain the said Decrees to the time only of Schism; as if they were of doubtful Authority, or not extended to all times whatsoever.

\* The Fourth of those Six is in these words, That, *The said Theological Faculty* doth not approve, nor ever have approved, any Propositions contrary to the most *Christian King's* Authority, or to the genuin Liberties and Canons received in the *Gallican Church*; for example, That the Pope may depose Bishops contrary to the said Canons.

|| The Second of those Articles runs thus. That, *The See Apostolick, and Successors of Peter, the Vicars of Christ, have, in such manner, the plenary Power of Spirituals, that, together with it, those Decrees of the Authority of General Councils, remain firm and immoveable, which the Fourth and Fifth Session of the Council of Constance, do contain, and the use of the See Apostolick, and Roman Bishops hath confirmed; and the Gallican Church most Religiously and perpetually has observed. Nor does the Gallican Church approve of those Writers that*

ly ponder'd: Then, most certainly it will appear, that your Lordship's leading *Supposition*, is a very great leading *Mistake*. And I must say, that either nothing at all can ever be deduc't from any Premises of notorious matter of Fact; or this Conclusion must be undeniably and evidently inferr'd from those Antecedent Premises here. And, therefore the very Contradictory of that leading Supposition of yours, must needs be true, *viz.* That the *Roman-Catholick* Church, whether Diffusively taken, or but even Representatively, does not believe the Pope either to be Supreme Judge under Christ of all Controversies, or in any Jurisdictional way Superiour to General Councils. For, undoubtedly, we have hitherto seen Her so far from *Believing* any such matter, as part of *Her Divine Faith* or *Creed*, that neither does She *approve*, nor *allow*, nor so much as *tolerate* either part of your Supposition for sound Doctrine; but in effect, *Condemns* both parts of it equally as *Heretical*. For Her condemning the former part, *viz.* The Pope's being the Supreme Judge of all Controversies arising in Her, must be a necessary Sequel of Her condemning the latter part of it by those Canons that Subject him to all General Councils, both in time of Schism, and out of it.

What your Lordship may perhaps Object here, not only the Twenty Third Article of those declar'd by the *Parisian* Theological Faculty, on the *Tenth* of *March* 1542. but also its being made a Law for *France*, by an  
 Edict.

Edict of *Francis* the I. never yet repealed to this present, has nothing insoluble in it. For, tho' it be in these very words, *'Tis no less certain*, that [*Jure Divino*] by Divine Right (or Law) there is in the Militant Church of Christ, one Chief Bishop, whom all Christians are bound to obey: Yet, not to call here in question, either what Certainty they meant to signify by the Common Word [*Certain*] nor whether, by [*Divine*] they meant that which is either strictly or properly *Divine Right* (or Law) or not rather that which is only by Extrinfecal Denomination, Imitation, or Conformity such, there is nothing more Evident by the whole perpetual tenour of the *Sorbon* and *Gallican* Churches Doctrine these three hundred Years: that is, ever since the question was first raised in the first Council of *Pisa*, Anno: 409. even to this present day, than that by [*All Christians*] in this Article, they do not mean them as Collectively taken in their Representative, a General Council; nor by the words [*Bound to obey*] mean other Obligation, or other Obedience, than that which is to be paid Him, where he enjoyns the Observation of the Canons, respectively received by the several Particular, or National Churches themselves. Of which he that desires to see any farther plain Convictions, may please to peruse, (1.) The foresaid *Lan- noius*, in his Epistle *ad Thomam Rullandum* (parte 3<sup>a</sup> Epistolarum) where he quotes at large the Testimonies of *Sixty Two* Popes themselves, from *Cornelius* the Martyr, to *Pius* the V.



inclusively, for proving the Popes having no Power to govern, or to enjoyn any thing, *Proprio motu*, or by absolute will, but only *Canone*; that is, according to the Canons received by the respective Churches themselves. (2.) In his Epistle *Ad Hadrianum Vallantium* (parte 2<sup>a</sup> Epistolarum) where to convince *Bellarmin*, That the Power of Excommunication was given by Christ immediately to the Body of the Church, he deduces the Tradition thereof from the 18<sup>th</sup>. of *St. Matthew*, in a perpetual Line of Seventy antient Fathers, Councils, Doctors, by giving us the Passages, and their proper Words at large; beginning with *Tertullian*, proceeding with *Cyprian*, the first Council of *Arles*, *Optatus*, *Hilary*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustin*, &c. and ending with *Occam*, who flourish't a little before the first Council of *Pisa*, when the Question about the Power of the Church over the Pope, was first (as I said before) moved by some, either ignorant or ambitious Court of *Rome*-sticklers. And particularly to this Letter of *Launoy* to *Vallantius*, I refer your Lordship the rather, because the Divine Power of Excommunication asserted thus to be given and belonging immediately to the Body of the Church, as the proper, primitive and primary Subject thereof, is the very first, original, unchangeable, everlasting, firm Foundation of that other *Catholick* Doctrine, which subjects the Papal Power it self, to that of a General Council, the only true Representative of the Church, with Supremacy of Judicature  
and

and Power, as well over the Pope, as any other of the Faithful. Which may be a plain and sufficient reason why the *Gallican* (and all other Churches which follow in that *Catholic* Doctrine the foresaid Councils of *Pisa*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Florence*, &c.) does notwithstanding their allowing one chief Bishop, *de Jure Divino*, in the Church, maintain withal, that neither is he empower'd to enjoin any thing contrary to the Canons of the Church, nor are any of the Faithful bound to obey him if he does: Seeing it is so evident, that his Jurisdictional Power (that is, his Episcopal, or call it what you please, Archiepiscopal, Patriarchal, Proto-patriarchal or Papal Power of Jurisdiction) and the exercise of it is limited by the Greater Power of the Church; of which, tho' he be the most Honourable among all others, separately or disjunctively taken, yet he is still but one Part of that Whole; and therefore less than it; and he is still but a Member of that Mystical Body, which only, and not any Prelate, or Pope, or other, was meant by our Saviour Christ, where he sayes, That, *If any Brother* (and surely the Pope is, and St. Peter himself was a Brother) *hear not the Church, let him be to thee as a Heathen and a Publican.* But whether or no this Reason seems plainly sufficient to your Lordship: Matter of Fact however is clearly evinc't, viz. that such is the Doctrine of so many *Roman-Catholic* Churches of *Europe*, yea particularly of the *Sorbon-School*, and *Gallican* Church at this very day, notwithstanding

the foresaid 23<sup>th</sup>. Article of the same *Sorbon*, and Approbation thereof by all the Prelates of *France*, conven'd at *Melodinum*, and the Edict of *Francis* the I. in pursuance of it; nay, and the verifying also of that very Edict in the Parliament of *Paris*, for maintaining the Establishment of one Chief Bishop, *Jure Divino*, in the Church, &c. And, therefore, 'tis also plain, that if any will contend from the latter part of that Article of *Sorbon*, for a Supremacy of Power in the Pope over all Christians, at least separately taken; it must certainly and only be understood for such a Supremacy as can be no other than wholly, in all respects unactive, but when it Acts according to and by vertue of those *Canons*. I mean those which are call'd the *Canons of the Universal Church*; but which, those other that are properly Papal, (*viz.* our Canon-Law) do, in a thousand places, contradict and usurp upon. Now, such a Supremacy of restrain'd, limited, confin'd Power in the Pope; whether by *Humane* or *Divine* Right, or both, in a less proper sense of those Terms, I could easily grant your Lordship, as admitted or suppos'd by the generality of Schools, Churches, Men of the *Roman-Catholick* Communion every where. But, withal, I must have added this Remark, that questionless 'twould signify nothing at all to your purpose, and the drift of your Discourse, as your self must needs see. Which, I think, is more than abundantly enough for this time and place, in Answer to your *First Supposition*.

Sett.

## Section. XVI.

**N**Or is your second, nor third, nor fourth Supposition in any sense more true or better grounded than the former: I mean, as to your charging or but supposing the *Roman-Catholick Church* in her diffusive latitude believes the Pope to be Infallible in all his Definitions, Doctrines and Decrees; which is your second. And believes him to be such, in those very Decisions that concern meer matter of *Fact*; which is your third. And farther believes, that all his Canons, Decretals, Rescripts, Bulls, Commands, are, without any opposition or examination, purely out of blind obedience, to be observed; which is the fourth of 'em. Now, to ruin all these three supposals together, my first Argument shall be in short, that all those *Roman-Catholick* Councils, Popes, Universities, Nations, Appellants, particular Writers and other Doctors, but now alledg'd against your first Supposition, or (which is the same thing) for the subjection of Popes to the Authority and Determination of General Councils, must by a necessary plain consequence of *Reason*, have held the Pope *Fallible*, in whatever consideration he be taken. For, otherwise, or had they held him to be Infallible, how could they have subjected him to others against his own Decrees? How to a Council? How have appeal'd from him, or have Depos'd or Excommunicated, or declared him an Heretick? as the Council of *Basil* in particular did *Eugenius*, when there was no Schism of Popes or Anti-Popes claim-



ing to the See of *Rome*. Certainly had they not believ'd, that as the Pope was not *Supreme*, so neither could he be *Infallible*: or at least had they believ'd the contrary. *i. e.* that he was *Infallible*; we must have look't upon them all either as mad or impious men to have so abus'd the World wittingly and willingly for so long time. But no man I am sure who is himself in his senses will think so madly of the Flower of Christendome, nay of five parts of six thereof. And therefore the consecution is clear that they all believed the Pope to be *Fallible*, in whatever consideration he be taken, either of a private Opiner, or a Publick Teacher even of the Universal Church, as Pope, as Vicar of Christ, or Successour of *Peter* in the Apostolical See; or as defining Questions, and fulminating Censures too by the Authority of *Peter* and *Paul* together.

But, laying aside all consecutions how clear and obvious and manifest soever; my Second Argument shall be such a Cloud of *Roman-Catholick* Witnesses in their Books and Writings on this very point in question, against the Pope's *Infallibility*, as will beyond all Contradiction clear the *Roman-Catholick* Church

from all your imputations here. For tho \* *Bel-*  
 \* Lib. 4. de Rom. Pontif. cap. 11.

*larmine* has by his customary arts, for concealing the Truth when it makes not for him, quoted only *Five* Authors against the Pope's *Infallibility*, *Nilus* Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, two *Parisian* Doctors, *Gerson* and *Almain*; one *Spaniard*, *Alphonsus de Castro*;

*Castro*; and *Hadrian* the VI. a *Hollander*; to whom he opposes ten Authors of that Church for it; adding withal that the opinion for it, or which is the same thing, the opinion which maintains that, *Whether the Pope can be a Heretick or no, he cannot however define any Heretical position to be believ'd by the Universal Church, is the most common opinion of almost all Catholicks*; God nevertheless, has in our dayes raised at last a *Catholick* Doctor in the Church, as it were on set purpose to undeceive the World; by exposing *Bellarmino* and all his flattering Courtly Tribe, as well in this very matter as in many other of his Controversial points. I mean the foresaid never-enough-celebrated *Launojus*. 'Tis he, that has quite over-turn'd all the Foundations of *Bellarmino*'s edifice for the Pope's Infallibility in any kind of sense; nor those of *Bellarmino*'s only, but those of *Cano* and *Caetan* too, who preceded him; and render'd all, both their Arguments and Answers, on this whole subject, vain and foolish Nonsense. 'Tis he that has ferretted them out of all their holes, caught them in their own Nets, and concluded them even by their own Principles. 'Tis he, that notwithstanding *Bellarmino*'s alledging ten Classick Authors for his own Opinion, and saying 'twas the *common tenet of almost all Catholicks*, has even demonstratively stript him of eight of this number, and left him only those two before-named, *Caetan* and *Cano*, I mean. 'Tis he that, besides those five Authors of *Bellarmino*'s own naming, and besides at least 500 more in several great Bodies

\* *Launoïus* Tom. 4.  
Epist. Epistola ad *Hen-*  
*ricum Barillonum*.

dies of Theological Faculties united together, viz. \* those of *Bononia*, *Pavia*, *Siena* in *Italy*; *Lovain* in *Belgia*; *Colen* and *Hertford* in *Germany*; *Vienna* in *Austria*; *Cracow* in *Poland*; *Anjou*, *Orleance*, *Toulouse* and *Paris* in *France*. And *Paris* too, even in the very dayes of yore, and three severall times conven'd on purpose: That is (1.) In the year 1333. against the error of Pope *John* the XXII. (2.) In the year 1387. against the error of *Montisonus*. (3.) In the year 1429. against the error of *Saracenus*, a *Dominican*. (4.) In the year 1482. against the error of *John Angelius*, a *Minorite*. *Launoïus*, I say, is he, that besides those twelve *Italian*, *Belgick*, *German*, *Polish*, *Austrian* Universities in particular, and the *Spanish* too in general, has given us a much larger list of single eminent Authors, who upon the Question have purposedly and positively written against this pretended Infallibility of the Pope. 'Tis he has quoted the Books, and censures, and passages, and precise words at length, not only of those five single Authors allow'd us by *Bellarmino* himself, nor only of those late-mention'd twelve Universities specify'd by name; but of those other additional private or single Writers, amounting in all to full seven

\* *Launoïus* Epist. 2.  
ad *Christophorum Fauve-*  
*um*. Tom. 3.

and fifty. viz. \* First, out of the *Sorton*. 1. *Innocentius*, 3<sup>us</sup> Pope. 2. *Robertus Cortzon* Cardinalis. 3. *Albertus Magnus*.

mus. 4. *Petrus Alliacus* Cardinalis. 5. *Henricus Hassianus*. 6. *Philippus*, Abbas S<sup>i</sup> *Dionysii*. 7. *Jacobus de Paradiso*. 8. *Cyprianus Bonnetus* ordinis *Prædicatorum*. 9. *Joannes Major*. 10. *Hadrianus Galterus*. 11. *Judocus Clitovans*. 12. *Joannes Celaia*. 13. *Franciscus Victoria*. 14. *Joannes Arboreus*. 15. *Robertus Cœnalis*. 16. *Claudius Sanctesius*. 17. *Renatus Benedictus*. Secondly, Out of Spain, 18. *Lucas Tudensis* Episcopus. 19. *Tostatus Abulensis* Episcopus. 20. *Dominicus Sotus* ex Ordine *Prædicatorum*. Thirdly, Out of England; 21. *Gulielmus Occamus*. Fourthly, Out of Germany, 22. *Nicolaus Cusanus*, Cardinalis. 23. *Dionysius Carthusianus*. 24. *Paulus Langius*, Citizenensis Monachus. 25. *Joannes Cochleus*. 26. *Fredericus Nausea*, Viennensis Episcopus. Lastly, Out of Italy. 27. *Auxilius*. 28. *Benedictus* Papa Nonus. 29. *Micrologus*, seu *Guido* Abbas Monasterij. S. *Crucis Avellanæ*. 30. *Bruno*, Signienensis Episcopus. 31. *Gratianus* (Distinct. 40. cap. si Papa. Item distinct. 19. cap. *Anastasius*) 32. *Gloss*. in priorem locum. 33. *Humbertus*, Magister Generalis Ord. *Præd*. 34. *Guido*, Archid. Bonon. 35. *Augustinus Anconitanus*, ex Ord. *Eremit*. S. *August*. 36. *Alvarus Pelagius*, ex Ord. Minor. 37. *Nicolaus Tudesus*, ex Abbat. Sicul. Panormitanus Archiepiscopus & Cardinalis. 38. *Cataldinus Boncompagnius*. 39. S. *Antoninus*, Florent. Archiepiscopus. 40. *Pius* the II. 41. B. *Joannes Capistranus* ex Ord. Minor. 42. *Angelus è Clavasio*, Ligur. ex Ord. Minor. 43. *Bernardinus Corius*. 44. *Joannes Franciscus Picus*. 45. *Phillippus Decius*, insignis



insignis Jurisconsultus. 46. *Dominicus Jacobatus*, Cardinalis. 47. *Sylvester Prieras*, Gen. Prædicat. Magister. 48. *Thomas Illyricus*. 49. *Ferdinandus Ponzetus*. 50. *Christophorus Marcellus*, Corcyran. Archiep. 51. *Joannes Tabiena*, ex Ord. Prædicat. 52. *Petrus Albini-  
anus*. 53. *Petrus e monte*, Brixienſis Episcopuſ. 54. *Petrus Campegius*, Feltrenſis Episcopuſ. 55. *Clemens Monilianus*, ex Ord. Minor. Cardinalis. 56. *Michael*, Cardinalis Alexandrinuſ. 57. *Hieronymus Albanus* Cardinalis.

It is the extraordinary diligence and industry of *Launoius* that prepar'd this Catalogue even of particular ſingle Writers ready to our hand; that diſtinguiſh't their Nations, and the numbers of each ſort in thoſe their ſeveral Nations and Schools apart. viz. Seventeen of the *Parisian* School; three of the *Spaniſh*; one of *Oxford* University; five *Germanſ*; and no leſs than one and thirty in *Italy* alone. In all ſeven and fifty; which, together with thoſe five allow'd us by *Bellarmino*, make up threeſcore and two ſingle particular Authors; beſides thoſe vaſt numbers of the ſeveral Collective Bodies or Theological Faculties named above. 'Tis he that farther informs us, how among thoſe *Parisian* Doctors who in the year 1333; or 1334. with the aſſiſtance of the whole University and *Philip the Fair* King of *France*, compell'd Pope *John the XXII.* to a publick retractation of his Errour concerning the ſtate of good ſouls departed to the other Life, were alſo in particular thoſe three  
other

other famous Schoolmen of that time, *Petrus Paludanus*, Patriarch of *Hierusalem*; *Petrus Rogerius*, who was afterwards Pope *Clement* the VI. and *Nicolaus de Lyra*, a Franciscan, the known and first, and perhaps best Commentator on the whole Scripture as to the literal sense. It is to *Launoy* we owe this Information. And to his indefatigable industry we are farther indebted not only for the vindication of St. *Thomas of Aquin*, *Thomas Waldensis*, *Joannes de Turrecremata*, *Joannes Driedo*, *Hosius* (contra *Brentium*) *Joannes Eckius*, *Joannes a Lovanio*, and *Petrus a Soto*, from *Bellarmino's* party or Doctrine of the Popes Infallibility (for they are eight of those ten quoted by him for it, and consequently for himself) but a most singular confutation of all the subtleties, as well of the only two remaining to him, *Caietan* and *Cano*, as of his own, for so false, and vain and improbable, and (indeed) heterodox a Position. Moreover, it is to the same excellent *Launoy* we owe this consequential observation; that as on the one side it must be a very great untruth (nay, sayes he, *mendacium ingens*, a hideous Lye) to affirm that the opinion which holds the Pope to be Infallible, *is the most common almost of all Catholics*: So, on the other, it is a very manifest Truth, that *the contrary Doctrine is undoubtedly the most common of almost all of them*. But, however any thinks of this tart Farewel that *Launoy* gives *Bellarmino* in his foresaid second Epistle to *Fauvans* (Tom. 3.) I am sure, no man can justly quarrel me for making use there-

thereof in this place to clear the *Roman-Catholick* Church from so false and injurious a reproach; and which perhaps your Lordship took up from your byas't reading of *Bellarmino* to ground your Supposition here. Neither am I less certain that all indifferent men will think I have said enough already to clear your Lordships grand mistake therein. Tho' after all, I must not forget to add to those numerous Witnesses of former dayes, a few more of our own; that is, not only *Richerius* and *Launoius* in their several Books already quoted in this Section, and *Caronus* too in his *Remonstrantia Hibernorum*, and Appendix entitled *Contra Infallibilitatem Pontificis Romani*; but chiefly the *Parisian* Theological Faculty, *An. 1663. 8<sup>o</sup> Maij.* and the Representatives of the *Gallican* Church at *Paris, An. 1682.*

\* *Sexto, non esse Doctrinam nec Dogma Facultatis, quod Summus Pontifex, nullo accedente Ecclesie consensu sit Infallibilis.*

† *In fidei quoque questionibus præcipuas Summi Pontificis esse partes; ejusque Decreta ad omnes & singulas Ecclesias pertinere, nec tamen irreformabile esse Judicium, nisi Ecclesie consensus accesserit.*

Whereof, both the former in the last of their

\* six Propositions, and the later in the † Fourth Article of their Declaration, however in the softest words they can, yet expressly, clearly and particularly declare themselves to be against the Pope's Infallibility, where he has not the consent of the Church. Which, if I

understand any thing, is plainly to make him as Fallible as the meanest Bishop in the World. For so do they say; and so all men of Reason (who

(who hold the *Catholick Church* her self to be Infallible) must say, that as well (for example) the Bishop of *Rhegium* or *Rocheſter* having the conſent of the Church in any point (concerning Faith) reſolv'd upon, is truly as Infallible as the Great Bishop of *Rome* can be. Unto which lateſt Declarations of the *Pariſian* Faculty and *Gallican Church* when I have added, as I do now, the fore-mention'd Edicts of *Lewis* the XIV. to be no leſs againſt the very particular of that Doctrine which maintains the Pope's Infallibility, than they are againſt any of the other proſcribed Doctrines, I ſee nothing elſe that can be expected in this place, or to end this ſecond Argument of mine. Nothing ſurely after ſo great a cloud of Witneſſes produc't therein for the contrary Doctrine's being undoubtedly that of the *Roman-Catholick Church* in this matter; which only Ignorance and Intereſt has made a Queſtion.

Againſt your Third Suppoſition, that *The Roman-Catholick Church believes the Pope to be Infallible in ſuch very Deciſions or Judgments as concern matter of Fact only*; beſides what is now ſaid againſt his Infallibility in judging even Queſtions of Faith, (whence the falſneſs of this here muſt, *a fortiori*, by a manifeſt conſequence of Reason follow) I'll ſay only;  
1. That for ought I have ever yet read, never was any ſuch Doctrine heard of in the World, till on the 12th. of *December*, 1662. The exceſſive zeal of the *Ignatian Fathers*, in their Colledge of *Cleremont* at *Paris*, againſt  
the



the *Jansenists*, and for that Bull of *Alexander the VII.* which declar'd this matter of *pure Fact*, viz. That the five condemned Propositions were in *Jansenius* his Book, bereav'd them so far of all reason, as to publish in print a *Thesis*, which asserted the Pope to be as *Infalible* in deciding not only questions of Faith,

\* *Histor. Irish Remonstrance*, in the *Ep. Dedicatory*, pag. 9.

but *Questions of Fact* \*, as *Christ* himself was when he was on earth.

2. That, since that time, nothing has been heard of so blasphemous a Position, but only from the Books of *Roman-Catholicks* themselves, decrying and justly branding it with the Title of *The New Heresie*

† *Bellarmin. 1. 4. de Rom. Pont. cap. 11. vi. de eum fusus cap. 2. ejusdem Libri.*

of the *Jesuits*. That *Bel-larmin* † himself was undoubtedly so far from asserting any such thing as on the contrary 'tis

evident, he expressly asserts the *Fallibility* even of *General Councils* themselves in questions of *meer Fact*; nay, and the very *Fall* too of the sixth *General Council* into actual error concerning the case of *Honorius* the I. condemn'd for a *Monothelite Heretick* by those *Fathers*. That however the *Clermont Colledge* in the aforesaid year would needs ambitiously venture *plus ultra* still, beyond the *Pillars of Hercules*, i. e. beyond the assertions even of *Bellarmin* himself in this matter; yet, to my own knowledge, the *Lovain Colledge* of the same *Ignatian Society*, has, about eight and forty years ago, been so much of a different mind,

not

not only from those of *Clermont* who came after, but even from *Bellarmino* himself, who long preceded them in time, as to have in Publick, and in exprefs terms maintain'd the contrary; *i. e.* the Pope's Fallibility, even as Pope, and as defining too in those very matters of Faith. I say, to my own knowledge: For, being present my self in the said *Lovain* Colledge of the Society at the Disputes of the two then famous Professours of Divinity, *De Young* and *Der Kennis*, I both heard, and saw, and read in their printed Theses, under their own names, one of them in the forenoon, and the other in the Afternoon, purposely asserting the only main Contradictories upon this subject concerning the Pope's Infallibility: one of them in his General Conclusions (*ex Universa Theologia*) maintaining that the Pope, as Pope, could not err in defining Questions of Faith; and the other in his special Conclusions [*De fide, spe, & Charitate*] defending both resolutely and stily that the Pope, \* even as Pope, might err in defining those very Questions of Faith.

\* See History of the  
*Irish Remonstrance.* part.  
4. p. 64.

But I have dilated farther than so vain and ridiculous a *Supposition* as is your Third, requires I should: For it might be justly, answer'd in short, that 'tis not worth any Answer at all, being so notoriously false, and Groundless to boot; unless peradventure you can think still, that Communion with the Pope may be ground enough to fix on the *Roman-Catholick* Church what folly, or frenzy, or e-

ven Blasphemy you please; tho' only those few *Clermontians*, that make no number amongst her Sons, were guilty of it; nay tho' even they were presently cry'd down and silenc't by the *Sorbon School*.

To destroy your Fourth *Supposition*, viz. of the Roman-Catholick Church's believing, that all the Pope's *Canons*, *Decretals*, *Rescripts*, *Bulls*, *Commands*, are without opposition or examination to be observ'd, will be full as easy, as it has been to overthrow your former one. 1. 'Tis wholly grounded on the former *Suppositions* of Her believing the Pope's either *Infallibility*, or *Supremacy*, or both. And we have already shewn she believes no such thing, at least in your sense of them; altho' she allows of his *Primacy* according to those *Canons* which are, and are properly called the *Canons of the Universal Church*; nay, tho' she allows of his *Supremacy* too among other particular Churches, dispersedly or separately taken, not collectively in a general Synod, whereof I have said enough before. 2. Of those very Divines and Canonists who are for both his unqualified *Supremacy* and *Infallibility*, the far greater number is, notwithstanding, against any obligation or tie of Conscience on the Faithful to obey his *Canons*, *Bulls*, or even *Decretals*, but where they are both promulgated and receiv'd; or (which is the same thing) freely submitted unto by the Faithful of the respective National or Provincial Churches, Kingdoms, States, &c. Particularly, so are *Driedo*, *Major*, *Angelus*, *Armilla*, *Covarruvias*,

as, *Felinus, Castro, Emmanuel Sà, Fumus, Valentia, Emmanuel Rodrigues, Reginaldus*; and commonly the Civilians and Canonists too; as you may see them quoted partly by *Suarez*, lib. 4. *de Legibus*. cap. 16. partly by *Bonacina*, *de Leg. disp.* 1. q. 1. p. 4. Num. 27. who follows them in the same Doctrine. And for those other Divines, who in much greater numbers are against both his Infallibility and Supremacy, there can be no doubt of their being consequently for that very Doctrine, as to all parts of it: for they are manifestly for paying only such Obedience to the Pope as the Canons receiv'd by the respective Churches, and as so receiv'd by them, do require. 3. The known Practise of all *Roman-Catholick* Kingdomes, States, Churches out of the Pope's Temporal Principality, is in all respects conformable to that Doctrine. And the rejection, as well of the Supreme *Roman-Inquisition*

\* Decrees whatsoever by most Countries; as of the *Bulla Cane* in particular by all Countries; even *Spain* it self; and the perpetual recourse hard by us in *France*, from all kind

\* *Non me latet Scriptori Gallo utendum non esse simpliciter Inquisitionis Decretis, quæ in Auctoritatem Gallicanam non admittit Ecclesia.* Launoïus Ep. ad Raymundum Formentinum. p. ult. Tom. 4.

of Papal Commands or Bulls, as from abuses, to the Parliament of *Paris*, and in the *Spanish Netherlands* to the *High Council of Brabant*, are Instances beyond exception of their holding firmly to it. Whereof particularly for *Spain*, *Salgado, de potestate Regia & Papali*; and for



France, Pierre Pithou, de Libert. Eccles. Gallicanæ; but Universally for all Countries of Europe, Spain, France, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, Florence, and other Countries of Italy, Savoy, Germany, Electorat of Mentz, and England too when formerly Catholick; the curious

\* Jus Belgarum contra receptionem Bull. Pontif. Summar. 2. Num. 4. & sequentibus.

Author of *Jus Belgarum*, &c. \* will abundantly satisfy your Lordship, if you doubt of what I say here.

4. The Canon Law it self is plain enough against any such rigorous or severe tye as you suppose the *Catholick* Church believes to be on her Children for obeying what the Pope commands. To make this appear, I'll quote my self, where I have two or three and twenty years since, in a little Book call'd *The more Ample Account*. p. 52. and 53. discoursed thus.

[“ Admit they prevail so far as to abuse the most B. Father, or the most Eminent Lords of the Congregation *de Propaganda*, and get the Protestation censur'd, and the Subscribers condemn'd of temerity; Summons and Monitories against them (for certainly the first proceedings, how byast soever the Judges be, can be no higher.) yet, even in this case, the most Holy Pope himself will not be offended, if the Subscribers and others concern'd examin according to His own Law, or sacred Canons, the Tenour of any such Papers, Bulls, Decrees, Sentences, Judgments, Censures or Letters whatsoever, which may be pretended to issue from him. And what is more known than that according to the Canons, we may without Sin, Disobedience or Disrespect to the Pope, suspect, question, suspend, and even reject, First, such Decrees, or even Bulls, &c. as (tho' pretended genuin) come not to us by the Ordinary

"dinary? Secondly, such as tho' sent to the Ordinary  
 "or coming from him to us, are not Authenticated.  
 "Thirdly, such as, tho' otherwise perhaps Authentica-  
 "ted, are found by the Tenour, or otherwise, to con-  
 "tain an Errour, Falsity or Deceit in the Information.

*Per expressionem falsi aut*

*reticentiam veri.* \* Fourthly,

"such as the Ordinary him-

"self and others concern'd in

"the admission of Rescripts

"or Bulls, do not first so ad-

"mit and receive, or approve of. And what is more

"known likewise, than that even after, or when the

"Bulls appear to be Authentick, and farther appear

"not to be grounded on any sinister information; yet

"according to the Pope's own Law, and Natural Rea-

"son too, if they proceed from passion, hatred, or ig-

"norance, or any unjust ends; or when they are notably

"prejudicial to Justice, they may be suspended as to

"any Execution of, or obedience to be given 'em, un-

"till His Holiness be inform'd by those that find them-

"selves aggriev'd by such Letters: and, until there

"may be a Legal, fair and equitable discussion of the

"Cause, and where it may be conveniently, and ought

"to be discuss. And that it will be sufficient for such

"as are so concern'd, or find themselves so aggriev'd,

"to alledge, or even to pretend only for their excuse to

"His Holiness, some rational cause (that is, such as,

"were it true, might be reputed Rational) to save

"them from any Disobedi-

"ence or Irreverence. If at

"any time (sayes \* Alexander

"the III. to the Archbishop

"of Ravenna) we Write to your

"Brotherhood what may seem to

"exasperate your Soul, you ought not be troubled. Weigh-

"ing seriously the quality of the business we write of, ei-

"ther fulfill reverently our commands, or by your Letters

"pretend a reasonable Cause, why you may not observe them;

"for we shall patiently bear it, if you do not that which

"shall be suggested by ill Information.]

\* Innocent III. A. Ca-  
 nonico Pistaviensi. cap.  
 super literis, Extra. de  
 Rescriptis.

\* Alexander III. ad  
 Archiep. Raven. cap. Si-  
 quando. Extra. de Re-  
 scriptis.

But think of this fourth Reason what you please, I am sure the former three are manifest unanswerable Proofs, that your Fourth *Supposition* is no truer than the rest.

Section. XVII.

**N**either has your Fifth, nor the Consequent of it, your Sixth, any firmer Ground; tho' they are indeed the *Suppositions* you are chiefly concern'd in; yea much more than in any of the former that relate only to the Pope; because your fourth and last, nay, the only main Argument you put the whole stress of your Book upon, depends intirely on them. In the Fifth, you suppose the *Roman-Catholick* Church believes that General Councils are absolutely Infallible, and all their Decrees whatsoever to be necessarily obey'd, as such, by all the Faithful. In the Sixth, you consequently suppose her believing, that, not only those Canons or Decrees of General Councils, which, by way of distinction, are call'd *Canons or Decrees of Faith*; but the other which expressly go by the name of Decrees or Canons either of *Discipline*, or *Government*, or *Reformation*, or *Manners*, must be without contradiction both receiv'd, and obey'd, and believ'd as true, right and just by all the National Churches, by all Persons of her Communion. Nor, in truth could any other *Suppositions*, in any degree, serve your turn like these, to prove your main purpose home, the Bloody charge of your Book against that Church. But, God be thanked, you have been forc't to build on a Foundation of Quick-sand, when you laid all your stress on

on such imaginary supports. Which that I may now evince, tho' I might from the dayes of old (and peradventure with much reason too) alledge: 1. The antient Doctrine of *St. Augustine*, lib. 2. de *Baptismo*, cap. 3. where he sayes expressely, that one Plenary Council of the whole Earth, may be corrected afterwards by such another that sees more, *Quando apparuit quod latebat*. 2. In later dayes the Doctrine of *Panormitan*, *Gerson*, *Waldensis*, *Cameracensis*, *Nicolaus de Clemangis*, *Mirandula*, *Silvester*, *Corduba*, *Horantius*, *Celotius*, and other *Catholick* Doctors, quoted by *Franciscus a Sancta Clara* in several places of his *Systema Fidei*, especially cap. 20. who on the very point, have declar'd against the absolute Infallibility of Councils, even in their very *Definitions of Faith*; at least where the Article defin'd is not *Substantial* or *Fundamental* to the *Faith*; or (which is the same thing) is not necessary to salvation, as *Abulensis* in *Sta Clara* speaks. 3. How these great and *Catholick* Doctors even of later dayes expressely, *in order to us*, (as *Sta Clara* expounds them) or to any (at least, internal) ty on us from such very *Definitions of Faith*, require the previous reception, and consequently, the approbation of them by the great Diffusive Body of the Represented Churches themselves: which will then appear to us when we do not hear of any publick Dissent or Opposition to them by any considerable part of the same dispersed Churches. And therefore, those Great Doctors do, in effect, place the absolute Infallibility of



the Militant Church, not in her Councils, nor any Representatives, but in the Represented Universality it self. Tho' in the mean time, They, as all other Faithful do, acknowledge a General Council, truly such, to be the supreme Tribunal under Christ on Earth, as to all matters depending on the Keyes of Heaven; and, therefore, that at least External acquiescence in such Definitions of *Faith* is due to it from all Persons, untill the Publication of them in all Churches, and their Consent or Dissent be known, or at least nothing heard to the contrary, after a considerable time is over.

4. That surely, the *Roman-Catholick* Church has never yet condemn'd the foresaid ancient Doctrin of *St. Augustin*, and all other of his early time; nor the later (if later, and not rather the same former ancient) of *Panormitan*, *Gerson*, &c. Doctors that flourish't partly at *Constance* and *Basil*, and partly since, well nigh our own dayes. 5. That even the Learned Protestant Bishop of *Rocheſter*; *Joannes Roſſenſis* (de Potest. Pap. in Temporal. cap. 1. *sub finem*) defending *Barclay*, expreſſly acknowledges it has never yet been determin'd so much as by any Council, that all Determinations of

Councils are of *Faith*.

\* *Non omnia illa quæ tradit Ecclesia sub determinatione Judiciali, sunt de necessitate Salutis credenda.* Gerson.

Nay, that *Gerson* (quoted by *Sta Clara*, *Systema Fidei*, cap. 18.) sayes in plain terms, that

Not all which the Church delivers even by a Judicial Sentence are to be believ'd necessarily, *Necessitate Salutis*; under forfeiture of *Salvation*.

Tho'

Tho', I say, I might alledge these five points, besides many more, and insist upon them to ruine your Sixth *Supposition* of the *Roman-Catholick* Churches believing or holding the absolute Infallibility of General Councils, and Obedience due to them in all their Decrees whatsoever; yet I will not press your Lordship with any of them. I am so far from any such design, that I'll freely grant your Lordship, that 'tis the general current Doctrine (I say not, *Faith*) at least of the *Roman-Catholick* Schools, if not Churches, at this time, as it has ever been since the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, that Oecumenical Councils, truly such, *i. e.* Truly and effectually representing the Universal Church, are absolutely Infallible in all their Canons, or Anathematisms of *Faith*; and I am content you derive hence all the advantage you can. But then, Your Lordship will give me leave to mind you, that 'tis much otherwise as to the Canons of *Discipline*, Reformation, or Government. The very particular Church of *Rome* it self, has above One thousand Two hundred Years since, yea *Leo the Great* himself, and all his Successors in that Apostolick See, for near Two hundred Years after, have continually oppos'd the *Twenty Eighth* Canon of the Fourth General Council, or that of *Chalcedon*; and, by consequence, the *Second* Canon of the very Second General Council too, held at *Constantinople* Eighty years before; and in latter times, most Churches of *Europe*, have, as to several, nay, very many Decrees of *Reformation*,

mation, not only oppos'd, but even rejected the Council of *Trent* it self. Particularly, so have (1.) the Churches and Kingdom of *France*, to this present day. (2.) The *Spanish Netherlands*, and Churches, and Provinces

\* See *Fus Belgarum*.  
Summar. ult. num. 7. &  
*Richer*. Hist. Conc. Gen.  
l. 4. p. 175.

thereof, at least as to  
six and forty special De-  
crees of that very \* *Tri-*  
*dentin* Synod; how In-  
fallible soever your Lord-

ship would have them believe it to be. But they believe better things. And, however, I have made it now sufficiently appear, That the *Roman-Catholick* Church believes nothing at all of that, which either your Fifth or Sixth *Supposition* has: Nothing (I say) of the Infallibility of General Councils in their Canons of Discipline, Reformation, or Manners; nothing of any tye on the Faithful to obey such Canons, when they are not first received by the respective National, Provincial, or even lesser Episcopal Churches. Nor can any, the least Approbation, no nor Permission of so much as the Doctrine of either be charged on Her; tho' in the mean while *Acies Campi Florae*, tho' together with that *Acies*, a few *Tramontan* Divines and Canonists of some parts of *Italy*, and a very few more of the Papal Court-Interest, in some other parts of *Europe*, should even burst for spite. And yet, I could, for my part, allow, *Cum grano Salis*, even *Bellarmin's* Position, *Lib. 1. de Con. cap. 2. Fide Catholica tenendum esse Concilia Generalia errare non posse, nec in*  
Fide

*Fide nec in Moribus.* But the grain of Salt, is, (1.) That they be truly General Councils, or truly representing the Universal Church in her whole Diffusive Latitude; and with perfect freedom too, every Man to speak his own inward Sence. (2.) That, for what concerns *Manners*, it be expounded by *Bellarmin* himself, l. 4. de *Rom. Pont.* cap. 5. where he sets down this Assertion for the Pope, viz. That *He cannot err, not only not in Decrees of Faith, but neither in Precepts of Manners, which are prescrib'd for the whole Church, and are about things necessary to Salvation; or in such as of themselves are good or bad.* (3.) That voluntary Politick Rules for

\* Government, such as  
all the *Trent-Canons* of

\* See *Richerius. supra.*  
p. 175.

Reformation are, do not pass for Precepts of Manners concerning things necessary to Salvation, or which are *Per se bona aut mala; Good or evil of their own Nature.* If your Lordship pleases to season *Bellarmin's* foresaid Position with these few grains of Salt, make what use you please of him against me; tho' at the same time, I do not say you can make any kind of use of him, however season'd against the *Roman-Catholick Church* it self.

#### Section. XVIII.

**Y**Our Seventh Supposition, which is, That the *Roman-Catholick Church* believes or holds, That all those eighteen which *Bellarmin* (*Lib. 1. de Concil. & Eccles. cap. 5.*) has given us for General approved Councils, are truly such, or as such (at least) received by all her  
Faithful



*Faithful Sons*, will appear extremely ill ground-  
 ed, when you consider (1.) That Cardinal  
*Gaspar Contarenus* in his Book of *Illustrious*  
*Councils*, dedicated to Pope *Paul* the III.  
 counts the *Florentine* Council the Ninth Ge-  
 neral, however it be the *Sixteenth* of *Bel-*  
*larmin's*. (2.) Nay, that

*Launoius*, part 8. Epist.  
 ad *Claudium Amelinam*,  
 p. 118. 219, 220. & 240.  
 Edit. in 8<sup>o</sup>.

before *Contarenus* his  
 time, the First, both *La-*  
*tine* and *Greek* Edition  
 of the *Florentine* Synod,

with the Priviledge of *Clement* the VII. pre-  
 fix't to it, was under the Title of *Octava* in  
*Latin*, in *Greek* *ὀγδοή*, the Eighth General  
 Synod. For the *Greeks*, who were Members  
 of the *Florentine* Council, would not allow the  
 Council that restor'd *Ignatius*, to have been  
 a General Synod; tho' *Contarenus* and *Bellar-*  
*min*, with some other *Latins* do; and, there-  
 fore, make it the Eighth and Last of those  
 General Councils held in the *East*. (3.) That  
 even so the very Council held by Cardinal  
*Pool* himself at *London*, calls that of *Florence*,  
*Octavam*, or the Eighth of the General Sy-  
 nods. Whereof you may see *L'Abbe* and  
*Cossart* in their Edition of General Councils.  
 (4.) That the *Gallican* Church, not only not  
 receives that very *Florentine* Council it self,  
 much less the Fifth of *Lateran* under *Leo* the  
 X. as General; but utterly rejects them both,  
 even as Unlawful too in many Respects. So  
 that your Lordship may see here, if you please,  
 in one Prospect, no more of all *Ballarmin's*  
 former *Sixteen* allow'd by *Contarenus*, but *Nine*;

by

by *Clement* the VII. and Cardinal *Pool* but *Eight*; and, after all, both his *Sixteenth*, which is that of *Florence*, and his *Seventeenth* or *Fifth* of *Lateran*, wholly laid by in the *Gallican* Church and Kingdom. And you may consequently see the *First*, *Second*, *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth* or last of *Lateran*; and the *First* and *Second* of *Lyons*, and that of *Vienna* too, nay, and *Constance* and *Basil* both, bereaved of the Title of *General* by *Eugenius* the IV. and his Council of *Florence*; by *Clemens* the VII. in his Priviledge; by Cardinal *Contarenus* in his Book; and by Cardinal *Pool* in his Council held with us here at home. Whereunto, if you add the Universities and Churches of *France*, rejecting as well even that of *Florence* under *Eugenius*, as the last of *Lateran* under *Leo*; it must follow, that your Lordship cannot justly suppose the *Roman-Catholick* diffusive Church allows any more of *Bellarmin's* whole eighteen for *General*, than seven or eight at most. I say, or *eight at most*. For, if the reason for counting the *Florentine* the eighth can be sufficient; viz. That no more had been composed of, or at least receiv'd by the Representatives of both *Greeks* and *Latins*, than those eight, of which the *Florentine* was the last; then, certainly it must also follow, that the very *Tridentin* it self, which is *Bellarmin's* eighteenth, was not *General*, or strictly, or properly *Oecumenical*; no not in the sense that any of the first seven are so called. As for the rest, I am not concerned here to take notice of *Bellarmin's* other *General Councils*; I mean those either wholly

wholly rejected, or partly rejected, & partly admitted; or neither admitted nor rejected by the Church, if we believe him. Nor, how in the first Class he puts the *Second of Pisa*; in the second, *Constance* and *Basil*; and in the last, the *First of Pisa*, which chose the good Pope *Alexander the V.* And what induc't me to take so much notice of your Lordship's tacit reference to him, or his number of approv'd General Councils in several places of your Book, will appear, at least in part, where I answer your fourth great Argument out of your pretended General Councils. In the interim, that reference or *Supposition* built thereon, your Seventh, is however tho' briefly, yet sufficiently consider'd; and (if I see any thing) render'd insignificant to your Lordship, even to all intents and purposes. Tho' at the same time I withal confess, I might allow your Lordship this one meagre *Supposition*, for ought you could thence conclude against me, in defence of your Book, or your main Charge therein against the *Roman-Catholick Church*. But the occasion given by your Lordship I would not pass over wholly, without improving it in some measure, at least for their sake who admire *Bel-larmine*, and swallow up at one gulp for General Councils and lawful Representatives of the whole Diffusive Christian Church, what, besides many others, the foresaid Cardinals, and Popes, and *Greeks* and *Latins* together in the Council of *Florence* have rejected: I mean the four first of *Lateran*, the two of *Lyons*, and the only one of *Vienna*. To say nothing more  
of

of *Constance*, or *Basil*, or *Florence*, or Fifth in the *Lateran* at *Rome*, or (the Complement of all) the famous one of *Trent*. As for the particular of that Fifth of *Lateran* under *Leo* the X. whoever would see the reasons of the *Gallican* Church for rejecting it, I refer him; 1. To the excellent *Richerius* (*Hist. Conc. Gen. l. 4. Part. Alt. cap. 4.*) where may be found at large whatever can be desired on this subject. 2. I refer him to *Launojus*, in his Epistle to *Ludovicus Marasius*, which is in the First Part or Tome of his Epistles; where this accurat Writer, besides refuting the Collections of *Bellarmino* (*l. 2. de Concil. cap. 17.*) from the Eleventh Session of that Council, against the Authority of General Councils over the Pope, and shewing, that no such matter is defin'd therein: and besides also refuting all the allegations even of very *Leo* the X. himself, for what is pretended by his Bull therein for a power in the Pope (at least) to call, transfer and dissolve General Councils at his pleasure without their consent: He gives moreover the exact number of those that composed or assisted in it, viz. Cardinals, Patriarchs, and Orators, (*i. e.* Embassadors) Eleven; Archbishops and Bishops, Fifty-three; Abbots and Generals of of Orders, Five; in all Eighty-five Persons, and almost all *Italians*. An inconsiderable number (God knows) if but compared to that of the Council of *Constance*; which (as *Michael Buchingerus* in his Ecclesiastical History, tells) consisted of 4 Patriarchs, 27 Cardinals, 49 Archbishops, 270 Bishops, and 564 Abbots and



and Doctors. And yet a Number and Council far more inconsiderable (especially to define any such matter, as *Bellarmino* most ungroundedly pretends them to have defin'd, against both the great Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, for the Superiority of Popes over General Councils) if it be lookt upon as under all the other prejudices which the Second *Pisan* has loaden it with, particularly that of an (*Evangelium Armatum*, or an) armed Power kept still on foot in the Ecclesiastical State, both by *Julius* the II. who called it first, and by *Leo* the X. after him.

Upon your Eighth, which, contracted in little, sayes, that *All whatsoever Books, Parts, Passages, of the whole Canon-Law, must be not only as Rules of Justice (betwixt party and party) receiv'd by the Roman-Catholick Church in all her Tribunals; but farther, by all her Sons believ'd as true and just in themselves:* It will be sufficient in this place to instance particularly; 1. The Extravagant *Unam Sanctam*. de Major. & Obed. of *John* the XXII. 2. The whole *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of *Boniface* the VIII. 3. All those Canons too of *Gregory* the IX. in his Five Books of Decretals, which contain any thing derogatory or prejudicial to the Supreme Temporal Power of Kings or States, or to the genuin Rights of their National Churches. For so many, at least, are the Books, Parts, Passages, Decretals, Extravagants, of the Canon-Law, which are neither believ'd to be true or just in themselves, nor at all receiv'd for Rules of Justice (betwixt  
party

party and party) by the Kingdom or Church of *France*; either in her Tribunals, or out of them. Whereof, at your good leasure, you may consult *Pithovius* at large (*De Libert. Eccles. Gallic.*) Tom. 2. P. 4. & 6. Or, if you have him not, *Caronius* in his Remonst. *Hib. Append. 1. seu Tractatu de Libert. Eccles. Gallic.* Sect. 2. Numb. 37.

To your Ninth *Supposal*, or that which pretends your beloved *Liber Septimus Decretalium* to be good Canon Law, and as such believed, or at least received by the Roman-Catholick Church, I have said enough already to clear so gross a mistake. It is in the Twelfth Section I have, tho' but incidentally, said so; and thither I refer any that desires to see my Reasons against it.

In fine, to your Tenth and last *Supposition*, which, if I understand it rightly, must be, That *Bulla Cane*, as obliging all Churches and Nations of that Communion, is either believ'd, or at least receiv'd and submitted to by all of them; I have likewise but a little before in the XVIth. Section, and tho' but occasionally too, upon a more general subject, given as much, I think, as may convince your Lordship how mightily you are out in this very particular of *Bulla Cane* it self. Read once more *Pithou* and *Caron*, or either, in the places last quoted of *The Liberties of the Gallican Church*; and see them there particularly mentioning that of *France's* being wholly and necessarily (yea naturally, i. e. by the very natural right of the Crown or Supreme Temporal Power it self) exempt from this destructive *Bull of the Supper*. Turn once again to *Jus Belgarum*, &c. Summar. 2. and observe

the Author concurring with them, as to *France* by name, *Num.* 7. As to *Spain*, *Num.* 3. As to the Empire or *Germany*, *Num.* 5. As to the State of *Venice* and *Spanish Netherlands*, *Num.* 15. Nay (*eodem Num.* 15.) as to the very Electorat of *Mentz*, tho' but an Ecclesiastical Principallity govern'd by a Bishop of that Church. And, when you have thus observ'd all the great *Roman-Catholick* Nations of *Europe* rejecting even particularly that very Bull, yea; notwithstanding as well the most awful solemnities of it's publication at *Rome* every *Maundy-Thursd*ay, the Pope himself in his Pontificals being present at the Ceremony, and in the close of it, throwing down his burning Torch; as the manifold thunders of twenty several Excommunications contain'd therein, & each branch't out into almost as many more; and the Absolution of all reserv'd to the Pope alone, excepting only point of death: When, I say, you have observ'd all this, and much more in the Author of *Jus Belgarum*, then you may not only return back to those Divines and Canonists already quoted by me, but see farther yet a great many more alledg'd by him of both sorts (*Num.* 16.) who purposely and expressly justify that Rejection in all respects. Nor need I, nor will I add more on this subject now, save only what the same *Belgian* Writer tells of the two Great *Catholick* Monarchs, *Philip* the II. of *Spain*, and *Ferdinandus* of *Castile* and *Arragon*, in reference thereunto. As 1. How *Philip* having understood that the Pope's Nuntio had publickly fix't up at *Calaguris* a City of *Biscay*, the said Bull, without more ado, not only commanded him presently

to

to be thrust into a Coach with all his imple-  
ments, and sent away to Gregory the XIII. who  
was then Pope ; but, with his own hand, writ  
a most severe threatening Letter to the Cardinal  
*Granuellanus* ; wherein, besides many other ex-  
pressions of extreme resentment, he speaks thus  
in his own language. [*Es fuerte cosa, que pour ver  
que yo solo soy el que respeto a la sede Apostolica,  
y con summa veneracion mis Regnos, en lugar de  
agradacermelo como devian, se aprovechan dello  
para querer me usurpar la Autoridad, que es tan  
necessaria y conveniente para el servicio de Dios,  
y para el buen gobierno de lo que el me ha encom-  
mendado ; y assi podria ser que me forcassen a  
tomar nueve camino ; y yo os confieso que me  
trahen muy causando, y cerca de acabarse me la  
patientia por mucha que tengo ; y si a esto se  
allega, podria ser que a todos pesasse dello, &c.*]

And 2. How King *Ferdinand*, being at *Burgos*  
in *Castile* advertis'd by Letters from his Vice-  
Roy at *Naples*, that a Messenger of the Pope's  
had deliver'd to him and the Council at *Naples*  
a Brief containing Excommunications to the  
prejudice of that Kingdom's Rights, his Ma-  
jesty return'd back for answer : 1. A very  
bitter check to the Vice-Roy for not hanging  
in the place, without any delay, the Pope's Mes-  
senger that presented the Brief [*Porque vos no  
fizistis tam bien de hecho mandando aborcar el  
Cursor del Papa, que vos la presento?*] 2. The  
most positive and peremptory resolution that  
could be endited on paper, that, if the Pope  
did not forthwith give him full satisfaction by  
revoking his Brief, and Effects thereof, he would



right himself not only by an effectual substruction of the Obedience of all his Kingdoms from his Holiness, but other Provisions too answerable to an affair of that importance [*Si su santidad no revoca luego el Breve, y los autos por virtud del fechos, de la quitar la obediencia de todos los Reynos de la Corona de Castilla y Arragon, y de hazer otras provisiones convenientes a caso tan grave y de tanta importancia.*] So said that mighty Catholick King Ferdinand in his Letter from *Burges* 22<sup>d</sup>. of *May*, 1508. and so did his Successour *Phillip* the II. follow his example, as we have seen before. Tho' I confess, That of *Ferdinand* is the more remarkable, because we know the Kingdom of *Naples* was held by him in Fee of the Apostolick See of *Rome*, as it has been ever since by his Successours, and is at present by *Charles* the II. of *Spain*. And yet we know withal, that the Pragmatical Constitution set out for that same Kingdom by *Philip* the II. himself, dated the 30<sup>th</sup>. of *August*. 1561. expressly ordaining, that no Papal Bulls, however publish't at *Rome*, with this very Clause inserted, that

\* *Camillus Borelius de praestant Regi. Cathol. p. 545. apud Fus Belgarum, Sum. 3. Num. 12.*

\* *The Publication at Rome shall be enough to bind every where throughout the Earth,* is hitherto

in force and full vigour at *Naples*, against the very *Bulla Cænæ* it self. If your Lordship would be yet inform'd, how the farther actions of *Philip* the II. did answer that Pragmatick in the very particular of this Bull, I refer you either to *The History of the Irish Remonstrance*, page 236, 267. and

and 268. or to *Henricus Spondanus* in his continuation of *Baronius* (ad *An.* 1583.) *Num.* 4. Where even so very long and bloody a *series* of such actions of his in taking away the lives of above 2000. *Portugese* Priests and Monks, by violent death, may be seen at large, as will convince you throughly, that never mortal Man did more contemn that very Bull than he; how Catholick soever a Zealot for the Pope he was, or at least, would seem. Which, if I be not much deceiv'd, is enough at this time & place of *Bulla Cane.* And so you have the last of my Instances against the last of your *Suppositions.* Wherefore, now to end this present Section, with the natural issue of so many and such Premisses as are contain'd partly in it; and for the rest of them in my former last three Sections at large: I must conclude, that not one of all your foresaid ten *Suppositions*, or Doctrines supposed by them, is either believ'd as matter of Divine Faith, or otherwise at all either own'd, or approv'd, or allow'd of, in any sense, for sound or true Doctrin, by the *Roman-Catholick* Church taken, as before, in her diffusive Latitude. Which Conclusion, to evince in the best manner, and with all the clearness I could, was the only purpose of my 15, 16, 17, and the present 18. Section that ends here.

#### Section. XIX.

**A**Nd, consequently now, that material point of your *Suppositions* being over, I am come at last to joyn Issue with your Lordship, on the other not only material, but eternal point of our Disagreement; even the original spring,

and first and last of all my Thoughts here. That, which I prepar'd for all this while; and therefore That which must take up all the remaining Sections of this Apologetick piece. The Point, I mean, of your direct, positive, heavy Charge indeed, consisting of those Eighteen grievous Articles; which, under the Notion of so many other *Popish Principles or Doctrines*, you make it the business of your whole Book, not to *suppose* them as you did the former Ten; but to prove them at large by all the Arguments and Arts you can, to be the genuine Tenets of the *Roman-Catholick Church* wherever diffused on earth; and, by consequence, of all her Sons, if they hold to the Essential ties of that Religion or Faith they profess. Against your Affirmative position of so heavy a Charge, I have already set down my Negative, viz. *That the Church of Rome, in her diffusive latitude, as comprehending all other Churches in Communion with the Bishop of Rome, does neither believe as part of her Divine Faith, nor own, nor approve, no nor tolerate as matter of meer humane or probable Opinion, any one of all those Eighteen Positions, which my Lord of Lincoln Charges on Her.* And so I have already said, That my Reasons for this Negative, may be all reduc'd under one or other of these two general Heads:

1. That none of all your four different sorts of Reasons for your Affirmative, are conclusive of your purpose.
2. That, besides, there are manifold, even positive, clear Demonstrations of the most notorious matters of Fact that can be, if not in all, at least in almost all *Roman-Catholick*

lick Kingdoms, and States, & Churches throughout *Europe*, against your laid Affirmative heavy Charge. Wherefore my Province now must be to hold exactly to that Method. In the discharge of which, I must confess, I apprehend much more the toyl of running over so many Quotations, than I do any difficulty in solving your Arguments built upon them. For, certainly, the sole Foundation of all your heavy Charge, & all your several sorts of *Arguments* to prove it, your Lordship might already in the former last four Sections have seen laid open to all mens view, even in its very nakedness of Nothing. And therefore, how or where the superstructure built on a Foundation of no other than a meer imaginary being, can possibly hold against the least proper attacque; I for my part do not see at all. However, let the impartial *Reader* judg, when he has consider'd thoroughly, what follows. Therefore, to enter on the first Head of my Reasons, I begin with your Lordships first sort of Proofs, viz. That, not only of your Quoting in particular two or three & Twenty private Authors of that Communion, some of them Canonists; other, Divines; and some Historians too; who Assert the very Worst of those Eighteen Positions, even the Papal Deposing-Power, with all it's Antichristian bloody Consequents; but of your adding in general, [*pag. 20.*] *That the Canonists, Casuists, School-men, Summists, Jesuits, &c. are generally (if not universally) of this Opinion, (That the Pope may depose Kings, &c.) is notoriously known to all who know them.* For this in effect is the whole of your first sort of Arguments, de-



riv'd only from, and wholly built upon the Authority of Private Writers. Tho' I confess, that in dilating on it, your Lordship has fill'd up at least sixteen pages of your Book. Which is the Reason I find my self oblig'd to return these following Animadversions in Answer to it.

1. That were both parts of your Antecedent true, or did I grant the later part thereof, which is your *Generality* of other Authors, as I do freely grant the former concerning those two or three and Twenty Writers particularly named by your Lordship; yet after all, I could see nothing derivable thence to your purpose: unless, peradventure, I should concur with your Lordship, in holding it for good Logick, to conclude Affirmatively, from an extreme little part, to an immensly-extended whole: Or (which is the same thing) from a very few particulars, to a numberless Universality of the *Church*. For so indeed you conclude here, if you conclude any thing to make good your Charge. And so you must, in short, frame your Argument thus: Not only one, or two, or three and Twenty, but *generally* all Roman-Catholick private Schoolmen Writers hold even the very worst and bloodiest of all those Eighteen Popish Positions; *Ergo*, The Roman-Catholick Church her self diffusively taken, either believes them as part of Her Creed, or at least approves them for good Doctrine. As if, indeed, the Roman-Catholick Church were not another-guess thing than the *generality* of her Schoolmen-Writers; who, God knows, make the very least part of Her. Or, as if we did not know that the Sense of the *Church*,  
and

and the Positions of *Schoolmen*, are often as contrary as very contrarieties themselves can be.

2. That altho' I do freely grant your Lordship those two or three and twenty Authors particularly nam'd by you, and farther pass by your Parenthesis [*If not Universally*] with this only reflexion, That you could not chuse but know it to be groundless; yet so I cannot by any means, your positive saying, that *The Canonists, Casuists, Schoolmen, Summists, Jesuits, &c.* are generally of that opinion; but must as positively deny it to be so. That I am sure *Bellarmino* himself in his Answer to *William Barclay* (*de Temporalis Potestate Papæ*) where he places together in one prospect all the Writers for that opinion he could hear of, has not in all exceeded the number of Seventy. That the Right Reverend and most Learned *Joannes Rossensis*, even a Protestant Bishop of the Church of *England*, in his brave defence of the said *William Barclay*, tho' a *Roman-Catholick*, has by \* invincible Arguments cut *Bellarmino* short of three

\* *De Potest. Temporalis Papæ, &c.* l. 1. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

and twenty of that very number, and so reduced it certainly to 47. Nay, has no less unanswerably prov'd that of these very 47. even *Bellarmino* himself, and the rest of his opinion, who are only for the *Pope's Indirect Power in Temporals*, have utterly rejected more than the one half, viz. all those that maintain the *Direct Dominion* of the *Pope* over the whole *Earth*. Which in effect, is to have reduced the former 70. at least to a third Part, or three and twenty

\* The Archbishop of *Spalata* has reduced them lower yet, even to twenty only. See him in his *Ostensio errorum Francisci Suarez.*

1. cap. 8.) in a whole

† *Roffensis.* Lib. 1. cap. 8. a Pagina 95. ad pag. 178.

private Writers on the other side, all of 'em *Roman-Catholicks*; yea, and all of them too, every one, such as wrote since the Controversy began under *Gregory* the VII.

3. That, if your Lordship peradventure say there have been others, who, since *Bellarmino's* dayes, have writ for his side; and that even himself, and *Suarez*, and *Becanus*, and *Lessius*, and *Gretzer*, *Mariana*, *Parsons*, *Fitzherbert*, *Eudamon Joannes*, *Creswel* & some others might be added to his number, whether 70 or 47, or yet less to a third part: The Answer is obvious, that certainly, so might many more be added to the number of *Roffensis*, especially since the burning of *Bellarmino* and *Suarez* at *Paris* for their good Doctrine. And the famous Parisian Doctors, *Andreas du Vallius*, *Edmundus Richerius*, and *Joannes Launois*, and the two *Barclays* themselves, the Father and the Son; and the Learned *Benedictin English Monks*, *Thomas Preston* and *Thomas Green*; and (to pass over many others) Father *Caron* at last in our own time, might surely be added to the number of

Ortho-

twenty in the whole \*. That the same Illustrious and Excellent, and accurate Writer of the *Protestant Church of England* has farther yet (lib.

hundred eighty three pages confronted those † 70 Witnesses of *Bellarmino*, with double the number even of single

Orthodox private Writers against the Pope's deposing Power. Tho' withal I might say, that, if only weight of Reason were consider'd, *Thomas Preston* alone would bear down the scale against *R. Bellarmine* himself; and those other nine or more additional Writers of his *Ignatian Order*: Since (in my opinion) it is plain, that in the great Controversy about the *English Oath of Allegiance*, he alone has laid them all on their backs. Witness his many Learned Works, tho' mostly under the name of *Roger Widdrington*, both in *English* and *Latin*; answering, replying, rejoyning, baffling all their Books against that Oath; besides his Appeal and Supplication to

\* *Gregory* the XV. But forasmuch as the generality of Readers look more perhaps on Number than Reason, if I should farther add the Colledge of *Sorbon* 4. Aprilis 1626. censuring the contrary Doctrine of *Santarellus* the Jesuit; nay the whole Universities, First of *Paris* on the 20. of the same Month and Year; Then of *Cane*, assembled in the Convent of *S. Francis* 7. Maij. 1626. Of *Rhemes*, the four Faculties being assembled in the Chappel of *S. Patrice* 18 Maij. 1626. Of *Tholouse*, the Rector and Professors of all the Faculties in *St. Thomas's* School at the Dominicans 23 of May, 1626. Of *Poitiers*, assembled at the Dominicans, 26 of June, 1626. Of *Valence*, assembled in the Great Hall, 14 of July, 1626. Of *Burdeaux*, assembled at the *Carmes*, 16 of July, 1626. Of *Bourges*, all the Deans and Doctors Regents of all the Faculties, assembled by the Rector 25 of Novem. 1626. In all Eight *Roman-Catholick* Universities, and all concurring with the Colledge of *Sorbon*, and condemning the said contrary Doctrine of *Santarellus* for the Pope's Deposing Power, as *Falſe, Erroneous, contrary to the Word of God, Pernicious, Seditious and Detestable*. If again, I should mention the University of *Paris* in the three first of their six Declarations 8. Maij 1663. against that same Doctrine. If moreover I should remember those nine and fifty *Sorbon* Doctors who so lately as the year 1680. under their own proper hands approved our *English Legal Oath of Allegiance*, yea, notwithstanding the Breve of *Paulus Quintus* that condemned it so long before.

\* Dated in the Clink Prison at London, 29. Maij. 1621. Printed Augustæ apud Baptistam Fabrum, the same year.

Lastly,



*Lastly*, If I accounted also the most Illustrious Representatives of the whole *Gallican* Church in the first and second Article of their famous Declaration at *Paris*, *An.* 1682. Then, without question, after this other addition of so many Great Collegiat Bodies of *Anti-Bellarminian* Authors; if I say, I should farther add them (and I see no reason why I should not) your Lordship cannot chuse but plainly see, that, even for *Number*, *Roffensis* grows upon you still; insomuch that he has at least forty on his side to one of yours, or *Bellarmino's* either, which you have espous'd, tho' against all reason, in this point.

4. That, laying all Additions by; even six parts of seven of so vast a number of private single Writers against the Pope's Deposing Power, as *Roffensis* has quoted, are part of them *Canonists*, part *Casuits*, part *Schoolmen*, part *Summists*, and part even *Jesuits* too. I am sure *Lorinus*, *Richeomius*, *Foannes Costerus*, and *Hartus*, all four quoted by him, professed themselves members of the *Society of Jesus*; to say nothing now of *Pierre Cotton*, *Ignace Armand*,

\* See the Appendix to any little Book call'd *The more ample Account*, Printed at London. 1662. *Charles de la tour*, *Jean Soufren*, \* *Francois Garassus*, *Francois Gaudillon*, *Dionysius Petavius*, *Jean Filleau*, *Jean Brasfaut*, *Estien Guerren*, *Ludovicus de Mairat*, *Faques Sirmond*,

*Pierre Roger*, *Estienne Bouny*, fourteen Learned *Jesuits*; who, after the time of *Roffensis*, or at least of the Edition of his Book, signed under their hands at *Paris*, *An.* 1626. the foresaid Censure of the *Sorbon* against *Santarellus*, and his Doctrine of the Pope's deposing Power. Besides, I am sure, that all the whole number of *Roffensis*, whether *Canonists*, *Casuits*, *Summists*, *Jesuits*, or what you please to call them, were *Schoolmen*; except peradventure two or three, if so many, of those four and twenty *Historians* quoted by him. Farther, I am certain there are Eighteen famous *Canonists* among 'em. As for the *Divines* in that Catalogue, I am no less certain, they alone far exceed the number of the very largest pretended Muster-Roll of *Bellarmin*, tho' but a medly of *Civilians*, *Canonists* and *Summists*, mixt with some *Roman-Court Divines*. So that I cannot imagin how any man so conversant in all sorts of Authors as your Lordship is justly suppos'd to be, could  
positive.

positively say, *The Canonists, Casuists, Schoolmen, Summists* (whatever become of the *Jesuits, &c.*) are generally for those Positions of the Papal deposing Power. Surely the lesser part of Writers can never make the greater, and therefore not the *Generality* of 'em, while it continues the lesser. And I can the less imagin, how you could possibly perswade your self to say so, when I consider, that altho' we supposed you had never seen that Learned Work of *Foannes Rossensis*, tho' a Protestant Bishop of the Church of *England*; yet your quoting Father *Caron's Remonstrantia Hibernorum* more than once, leaves you still excuseless in this point. For, besides another large Account of the more Ancient Holy Fathers, Popes, Councils, Universities, Emperours, Kings, Parliaments; he has, with some little Addition, the very same Catalogue of *Rossensis*; I mean, that of at least a hundred and forty *Roman-Catholick* private Writers against the Papal Deposing Power; and treats of them at large in seven or eight several Chapters of the second part of his \*

Work, quotes their Books, and gives their passages and genuine words at length. But my wonder still increases, when I consider particularly, that your Lordship could not be igno-

\* *Remonstrantia Hibernorum*, part. 2. c. 1. Sect. 3. & cap. 2. Sect. 3. cap. 3. Sect. 3. cap. 4. Sect. 3. cap. 8. cap. 9. & cap. 10.

rant of *Gulielmus Occam, Foannes de Parisiis, Petrus de Alliaco, Foannes Gerson, Egidius Romanus, Thomas Waldensis, Jacobus Almain, Foannes Major, &c.* Those Famous Classick Doctors of former times, who expressly writ against that Doctrine: Nor, of those neither, of your own Episcopal Order, and somewhat earlier times (that is, soon after the Controversy was by *Gregory the VII.* unfortunately and fatally set on foot) *N. Virdunensis Episcopus, N. Designatus Trevirensis, Lanfrancus Cantuariensis, Venericus Vercellensis, Conradus Trajectensis, Walthramus Magdeburgensis, Leodiensis Clerus in Epistola ad Paschalem, Eberhardus Bambergensis Episcopus*, all of them positively writing against that false pretence of Papal Power. To say nothing now neither of the seven or eight very Councils of Bishops, nor even particularly of *Robertus Lincolnensis, Sirnam'd Groshead*, your own great Predecessour in the See of *Lincoln*; or *Marsilius de Padua*, or *Foannes de Fanduno*,

or *Alexander Cæmentarius*, or several more, that as early, and no less clearly, declar'd against it. Nothing of those other that follow'd them, some sooner and some later; *Nicolaus Cardinalis Cusanus*, *Æneas Sylvius* (afterwards Pope Pius the Second) *Gulielmus Widefordus* against *Wicleff*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *Joannes Ferus*, *Joannes Arbo-reus*, *Ambrosius Catharinus*, *Franciscus Fevardentius*, &c. Nothing of the Canonists, *Baldus*, *Hieronymus Cagnolus*, *Cynus*, *Albericus de Rosata*, *Bartholomæus Salicetas*, Author *Somni Viridarij*, *Joannes Petrus Ferrariensis*, *Antonius de Rossellis*, *Bartholomæus Socinus*, *Gregorius Hamburgensis*, *Gaspar Valascus*, *Joannes Igneus*, *Joannes Tercelinus*, *Bartholomæus Cassanæus*, *Franciscus Duaremus*, *Dantes Aligherius*, *Adam Blackvodaus*, *Jacobus Leschasserius*, *Petrus Pitbæus*, *Petrus Gregorius Tholosanus*, *Martinus Navarrus*. Nothing of the Historians, *Sigebertus Gemblacensis*, *Vincentius Bellovacensis*, *Otho Frisingensis*, *Conradus Abbas Urspergensis*, *Matthæus Paris*, *Matthæus Westmonasteriensis*, *Joannes Aventinus*; *Joannes Cuspinianus*, *Franciscus Guicciardinus*, *Joannes Trithemius*, *Onuphrius Panuinius*, &c. For, to pass over these with all the rest, whether Historians, Civilians, Canonists or Divines, quoted together with them at large by *Roffensis* and *Caron*; what above all I insist upon is, that surely your Lordship could not be ignorant of those former eight so Famous Eminent Classick Doctors, nor of those Great Bishops neither who preceded them, and led them the way by opposing *Gregory* the VII. and his Deposing Followers in the Holy See. Neither is it likely you could forget the *Catholick* Apology for the King of *Navarre*, or the *Venetian* Writers against *Paul* the V. or the *Barclayes* against *Bellarmino*, or *Widdrington* (or *Preston*) or, last of all, *Caron*, here at home, besides many others which I could name. And yet your Lordship has not told your Reader of so much as one single Authour of that Church against the *Deposing Power*, or that System of Positions depending on it, which you have charg'd upon Her. But I pass this over too; as considering 'twas not your business, nor here, nor elsewhere in your Book, to do the *Roman-Catholicks* any kind of Right.

What I will not pass over, is, that by this time I hope, it sufficiently appears how unconcluding against the *Roman-Catholick* Church your first sort of Arguments from the  
**Authority**

Authority of private Writers must of necessity be. How ill-grounded your Assumption or Antecedent is for the second part. How neither does your Conclusion follow, were both parts admitted. How much at randome 'tis said (pag. 25.) there might be cited a hundred such [as *Jacobus Simanca* was] for the very worst of those eighteen Positions. And yet, how much more strangely and exorbitantly vain that other expression sounds, which (p. 8.) tells us of a *Thousand Books writ to that very purpose*.

6. For my last animadversion on this argument of noise and hyperboles, the *Generality of Canonists, Casuists, Summists, Schoolmen, Jesuits, &c.* I remit your Lordship once again to your own *Roffensis* for his final Judgment of the very number of that *Generality* of yours, when compar'd to those of the other side. 'Tis in his 2d. Book chap. 1. he gives it. Where, after taking notice of *Bellarmino's* unconscientious virulent charging *Barclay*, that he alone, like another *Ismael*, had written against the Common Doctrine of Writers, against the common sense and consent of Universal Councils, as if his hands were against all *Catholicks*, and the hands of all *Catholicks* against him: and after taxing *Bellarmino* with his own knowledge of the contrary, that is, his knowing that *Petrus de Alliaco*, *Foannes de Parisiis*, *Occam*, *Almain*, *Foannes Major*, and *Foannes de Janduno*, besides many others, were both *Catholicks* and Teachers of the same Doctrine, which *Barclay* follow'd them in against the Deposing Power; he proceeds discouraging thus. [Unto whom if we add the constant Unanimous Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, who all of them without exception taught Obedience to Kings and Emperours, even the most cruel Persecutors; if we add the constant answerable practice of the Catholick Church, for above a Thousand years, during which, neither Infidelity, nor Heresy, nor Persecution, nor Apostasy was thought a sufficient cause for the Deposition of Kings: If we add those innumerable Catholick Authors, those celebrated Writers of all Ages, who past over in eternal silence this Temporal Power of the Church, as either wholly unknown and unheard of, or as utterly condemn'd by that very silence of theirs: Finally, If we add those numberless numbers of Bishops, Priests, Monks, Clerks, People, who, notwithstanding all the Excommunications, Bulls, Depositions, Privations, Curses, Interdictions of Popes, remain-

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ed constant, even to Blood and Death, in their Allegiance to their Deposed Princes. [*Quam pauci, imo quam nulli sunt isti septuaginta Bellarminiani Authores, si cum illis Catholicissimis & Constantissimis Fidelibus conferantur?*] How few, or rather how none will those seventy Bellarminian Witnesses appear to be, *when compar'd with those most Catholick and constant Believers; even Bishops, who both before and after this Controversy began, detested that Power; or rather Tyranny; as that by which, as Barclay well observes, not so much the Princes as the Church has been afflicted, yea almost reduc't to nothing: That very Power proving alwayes fatal to the Popes, like the Horse of Seianus, or Gold of Tholouse to the Owners.*] So said *Roffensis* of Bellarmins Number. And so say I of your Lordships. Make your *Generality* as great as any Trope or *Hyperbole*, can make it with any colour of Truth: the *Roman-Catholick* Church, on the other side is without compare beyond it in very Number. For my part, I am perswaded that no Reader or any man of Reason can deny this, who but considers that really the Doctrine of the Deposing-Power is now in effect for a whole age proscrib'd out of all Sovereign Kingdom's, States, Principalities, Countries, Territories of that very Communion, save only the little small Territory of the Church. Neither Canonist, nor Casuist, nor Summist, nor Schoolman, no, nor a *Jesuit*, daring once to open his lips in defence thereof, but where the Temporal Jurisdiction of the Pope reaches to protect him, or the Laws protect no *Catholick* at all. And therefore, I should also think this last Animadversion, even of it self alone, without any of the former Five, might suffice in Answer to your Lordship's first sort of Proofs, the Authority of those private Bellarminian Writers in that Church. However, leaving this, and whatever else I have said in any of those former five to the Judgment of others:

#### Section. XX.

I Proceed to your Second sort of Proofs. 'Tis that you ground upon the Publick Authority of the *Canon-Law*: and therefore, that which, at least seemingly, is more valu'd by your Lordship than the former; tho' I confess, not by me. On the contrary, 'tis of so little force, in my opinion, to conclude any thing against the *Roman-Catholick* Church, as you may see by what I have already said

said in Answer to your Suppositions, that if I had not even a veneration for the Arguer, where I have no kind of esteem for the Argument, I should pass it over with answering in short; That, certainly the Dictates of the Pontifical Canon-Law, and the Doctrine of the *Roman-Catholick* Church, are often like the Poles of the World, extremely wide asunder; and that so they would be in this matter, even in case your Quotations of that Law were all right and full, and home to your purpose. Nor will any one admire it should be so, that considers the beginning, and Progress, and Compilers, and Authorizers, and Materials; besides the Design, of the several parts of that Law. The First Volume of it compil'd by *Gratian* the Monk, no earlier than the year of Christ, 1151. under *Eugenius* the III. to which *Innocent* the III. in a Letter of his to the Archbishop of *Compostella* in *Spain*, gave first the name of *Corpus Decretorum*. The Second Volume compil'd by *Raymundus a Pennaforti*, a Dominican, Chaplain to *Gregory* the IX. The Third and Last compil'd partly per *Gulielmum Archi-Episcopum Ebrudunensem* & *Berengarium Episcopum Biterensem ac Magistrum Ricardum de Senis S. R. E. Vice-Cancellarium*, and partly by others according to the Orders of \* *Boniface* the VIII. and *John* the XXII. The Materials of the First Volume, a huge Variety of Discordances and Disputes out of some scraps of Councils, mostly Provincial, Fathers, Papal Constitutions (several of 'em mistaken,) and *Gratian's* own endeavours to reconcile 'em all. But of the two latter Volumes, nothing but the meer absolute pleasure of Popes alone; their private Opinions, Rescripts, Answers, mostly to particular Men; besides a few Decretals, and such also issu'd by their own sole Authority without consulting the Church. Finally, the Design, or at least Pretence, no other than to make a Body of Laws fitted for the Government of their own Ecclesiastical State, where (since the decay of the *Roman* Empire) they exercised Supreme Jurisdiction in both Courts. which is the reason we meet in the Edition of that Law at *Lyons*, An. 1661. a Bull of *Gregory* the IX. dated An. 1230. and another

\* *Boniface* the VIII. was chosen Pope, An. 1294. *John* the XXII. was chosen Pope, An. 1316.

of Boniface the VIII. dated An. 1328. recommending their respective parts thereof to the Doctors and Scholars of the only University subject to them in Temporals, that of Bononia, I mean. Now I say, that to a serious considerer of so many particulars, and consequently of this also, that when the Canon-Law first appear'd in the World, the Imperial Majesty was in it's underfoot *Nadir*, and the Papal Glory in its vertical Point or *Zenith*; 'twill not seem strange the

\* *Vide Melchiorem Canonum de Locis Theologicis. l. 6. c. 8. in resp. ad 4. Argumentum.*

\* Doctrine of the *Catholick-Church* and the Decrees of the Canon-Law should run counter. But however, since your Lordship has taken the pains

to quote particularly (I mean, refer us to) six and twenty Chapters of that Law in your Marginal Notes; the first two in your 28. and 29 pages; the next two or three, in your 34. page; & the last one & twenty Canons in your 36. page; I thought it became me at least to satisfy myself by reading 'em all over, and considering 'em every one with all the application & indifferency I could. Which that your Lordship may see I have done, what I first observe is, that you have prudently omitted to give us their Words or Matter either; save only a very few words (but not the Sense nor Design) of the First of them; and the Second, I confess intirely; tho' you had, I am sure, much more prudently omitted these very two. All the rest, being twenty-four, you have only referr'd us to, without quoting a word out of them right or wrong; or giving the least account of the Matter contain'd in them. Next, I give here a just, tho' brief, account of them all in the same order you quote or refer us to them.

1. In your 28th. page you quote 15. q. 6. cap. *Authoritatem*; that is, you quote as out of that Chapter these few Latin words which you thought not worth your while to English, *A Fidelitatis etiam juramento Romanus Pontifex non nullos absoluit, cum aliquos a sua dignitate deponit*: For, translated, they signifie only, that the Roman Bishop absolves from their Oaths of Fidelity, some when he deposes any from their Dignity. Nor, indeed was it to your purpose to translate them, much less to inform the Reader who is the Author of 'em, on what occasion they

they were spoke, or what the subject is of that whole Chapter whence they are extracted. 'Twould have spoil'd your Designe to have told the Reader, that a<sup>s</sup> that Chapter is a pretty large one, so 'tis only attributed to *Nicolaus* the I. who surely was Pope before *Gregory* the Seventh's time ; and consequently, before any practice or attempt of deposing Kings from their Thrones, or absolving Subjects from their Allegiance. 'Twould have hinder'd your application to have inform'd him that the whole matter of that Canon, is, That Pope's signification by Letter to the Bishops of *France*, that, whereas the Archbishop of *Trevers* and his Provost, with many other Clerks, having been seiz'd by some High-way-men, and forc't to oblige themselves by Oath to them, and in observance thereof to deliver up the Goods and Possessions of the Church into their hands ; He not only absolves them from that Oath, but commands them and the Defenders of their Church, so long to prosecute those Villains, and their Complices, till they had restor'd all that ever they had by such wicked wayes despoil'd the Church of. Above all, 'twould have spoil'd your design, to let the Reader know, that those very words you quoted as part of that Canon, are no part of it at all ; but *Gratian's* own proper words, that is, his Transition to the following pretended Canon *Alius*. How your Lordship could mistake so grossly, I know not ; but I surely know you have.

2. In your 29<sup>th</sup> page, you quote at large (*Eadem Caus. & quest. 1.*) that Chapter *Alius* (render'd in English) albeit no less unluckily than the former, for ought you can conclude thence to your purpose : Because 'tis not properly a Canon, but a meer relation of a matter of Fact, and that False to boot, whoever was the Author of it, *Gregory* the VII. or any other. Undoubtedly, whatever that Chapter sayes, neither *Zachary*, nor *Stephen*, nor any other Pope deposed *Chilperic*, no nor dispens't with the *French* in their Oath of Allegiance formerly taken by them to that unfortunate King. Nor does *Eginhardus*, the only Authour you quote, say that *Stephen* did. Nor indeed, if *Eginhardus* had any such thing, ought your Lordship have believ'd him against the torrent of all Historians, that testify how *Gregory* the VII. who was long after *Chilperic's* reign, was the first that ever at-



tempted that innovation in the World. But your Lordship chose rather to follow the *Magdeburg. nses*, and *Calvin*, and *Bellarmino's* corrupt allegation of Authours in this matter, than the clear Historical demonstrations to the contrary, as well by your own *Roffensis* long since, *lib. 2. cap. 42.* as of late by *Launojus* in his Epistle to *Ludovicus Marafius* (Tom. 7.

\* *Bellarm. l. 2. de Rom. Epistolarum*). where 1. He shews it clearly, that \* *Bellarmino* has not only abus'd

or impos'd upon all the twelve Historians quoted by him in this point, and among the rest on *Eginhardus*, (tho' not so much on him as on others of 'em) but even contradicted his own Position against the *Direct* deposing-Power, by alledging the Deposition of *Chilperic* by the Pope. 2. Against *Bellarmino's* confidence in asserting that all the *Latin* Historians write, that Pope *Zacharias* did, and did both justly and lawfully depose *Chilperic*, he produces *Ado*, *Blondus*, *Pius II.* *Fredegarius Scholasticus*, the *Appendix* of *Theodoricus de Niem*, the Ancient Book of the *Major Demos* of France, *Anonymus in vita S. Lebuini*, *Annales Francorum Antiores*, &c. The Monk of *Angolesm* in *Charles the Great's Life*, *Gulielmus Nangius in Chronographia*, *Foannes Tritheimius* in *Libro de Origine Francorum*, *Robertus Ganguinus* and *Carolus Sigonius*, in all thirteen *Latin* Historians; who relating matter of Fact concerning *Chilperic*, ascribe neither a Just nor Lawful, nor indeed any kind of Deposition of him to the Pope; no, nor other Influence on it, save only that of an Answerer to the Question propos'd to him by the *French*. Wherein, if your Lordship would be more thoroughly convinc't, see but *Aventinus lib. 3.* (quoted by *Roffensis*, p. 969) where both the question of the *French*, and the Answer of *Zachary* is set down in his own very words at length, with his reasons for it. The precise words of his Answer being these: *Proinde fas est & licet Francis Germanisque repudiatio degenerare monstro, eligere eum qui belli, domi, sapientie, conjuges, liberos, Parentes, omnem denique vitam & fortunas tutari & defendere queat & valeat.* Wherefore 'tis just and lawful for the *French* and  *Germans* to repudiate that degenerated Monster, and chuse themselves another, who may be able to preserve and defend their Wives,

Children,

*Children, Parents, Fortunes, Lives, both in War and Peace.*

3. Pag. 34. You refer us to cap. *Nos Sanctorum*, and cap. *Furatos*, ead. caus. & q. 6. But the former being a meer dictate of *Gregory* the VII. presiding in a *Roman* Synod; and the latter only an Answer of *Urban* the II. to a question propos'd to him by the Bishop of *Luca* (for so *Gratian* tells us of both) we must not wonder they should be positively for the absolution of Subjects by the See Apostolick's power from the tie of any Oath of Allegiance to an Excommunicate Lord. For even that very *Urban*, as in time he was immediate Successour to *Gregory* the VII. (only the three Months of *Vicor* the III. Pontificate intervening) so he was in Principles and Practice too his downright follower. Tho' after all, neither of them has in either of those Chapters a word of Emperors, Kings, or *Supreme* Lords; and therefore, according to the common Doctrine of Divines and Canonists, your Lordship cannot conclude from either any thing to your purpose; not even, I say, as from these very Popes themselves, or these two Chapters; which, consequently, may and ought to be understood in reference only to *Inferiour* Lords, yea, and such moreover as hold their Lands from the Church. For so *Widdrington*, and long before him, *Joannes de Parisiis*, answered all such Papal Canons, that either they were made for the Territories of the Church; or certainly, with this tacit reserve, if Princes would elsewhere admit them. Besides, cap. *Furatos*, in particular, speaks only of a Count, by name *Hugo*; who having some Souldiers under him, fell into an Excommunication. And for cap. *Nos Sanctorum*, 'tis plain, there is no Specification therein, not so much as of a Count, Viscount, Baron, or yet more inferiour degree. Whence it must follow, that neither of 'em can reach or be extended to any *Supreme* States.

4. In your page 36. you refer us to Distinct. 96. Can. 1. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. and 12. in all Seven Canons. But none of all these seven, has so much as one word to your purpose. For cap. *Benè* which is the first of 'em, and attributed to Pope *Symmachus* presiding in a Council at *Rome*, treats only of the unlawfulness either for Lay-Subjects, or the Clergy themselves, to alienate the Possessions of the Church. Cap. *Satis*, the Seventh of them, being part

Pope *Nicolas* his long Letter, (beginning *Proposueramus*) to *Michael* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, sayes only, 'twas unlawful for that Emperour to Depose the Patriarch *Ignatius*. The Eighth, viz. *Cap. de Scripturis*, which is from the same Pope to *Lewis* the Emperour of the *West*, tells him only, that he ought, in imitation of *Constantine*, to cover and conceal the transgressions of his Fathers the Bishops of the Church. The Ninth, or *Cap. Quis Dubitet*, *Gregory* the VII. *ad Hermannum Metensem Episcopum*, Author of it, only prosecutes the same or like matter. *Cap. Duo*, the Tenth, which is of *Gelasius* to the Emperour *Anastasius*, has nothing more in effect, than that the World is govern'd by the two Powers, the Pontifical and the Regal; and that in Spiritual matters, the former is to be observed. The Eleventh, *Cap. si Imperator*, *Foannes*, a Pope of that name, the Authour, has nothing likewise in substance, but that in the Mysteries of Christian Religion, the Emperour ought to be guided by the Bishops, and in such matters to be subject to them. Which plainly shews what the meaning of the *Lemma* prefix't to that Chapter must be, whoever he was that prefixt it, or however made use of by your Lordship against the whole tenour and intent of the Chapter it self. Lastly, The Twelfth *Cap. Nunquam*, having Pope *Gelasius*, *ad Episcopos Orientales*, for Authour, sayes no other, than that the Bishops were never judg'd but by the Church. That it belongs not to the Civil Law to pronounce sentence against them without the concurrence of the Chief Pontiffs. That Christian Princes were wont to obey the Decrees of the Church, not to place their own Power above them; and were wont to bow their Heads to the Bishops, but not to judge of theirs.

5. In the same 36 page of your Book, your Lordship refers us to *Caus. 5. q. 6. Canon. 2, 3, 4, and 5*. Where surely, there is not a Syllable belonging to this or any such matter. That whole Sixth Question in *Caus. 5.* and all the Canons or Chapters of it, which are eight in all, treat only of the Punishment of False Accusers, whether Clerks or Layicks. And therefore I'll suppose *Caus. 5.* was here a mistake of the Print, for *Caus. 15. q. 6.* where those four Chapters, which I believe you mean, are to be found. But I have animadverted

on 'em already, as you may see before, *Num. 2.*

6. In the self-same 36th. page you refer us to *Caus. 23. q. 5. cap. Excommunicatorum*; tho' only therein Pope *Urban the II.* answering to another question of *Gofredus* Bishop of *Luca*, concerning the measure of Penance or Satisfaction fitting to be enjoyn'd such as meerly out of Zeal for the Church had killed some Excommunicate, incidentally declares his own private Opinion, that such killers were not Murderers; yet adding nevertheless, that he should enjoyn them satisfaction, *Secundum modum Intentionis*, according to the measure of their intentions; nay, and withal, calling that very killing *Flagitium*, which I think, is in English, *A Heinous Crime.*

7. After you had thus done with *Gratian's* Decree, you next refer us to the Decretals of *Gregory the IX.* that is to *Cap. Vergentis. Cap. Excommunicamus. Cap. Absolutos. Extra. de Hæret. Cap. Gravem. Extra. de Pænis. Cap. Nimis. Extra. de Fure Furando, and Cap. Solita. Extra. de Major. & Obed.* In the first of these *Innocent the III.* confiscates the goods of Hereticks living under his own Temporal Jurisdiction: But as for those Hereticks that live elsewhere, he only commands the Secular Magistrates and Princes to confiscate their Goods; and in case of negligence, to be forced thereunto by Ecclesiastical Censures: among which *Deposition*, (at least from any Temporal Power or Right,) has no place. And that is the whole of this Canon *Vergentis*; without any special mention of the Emperour, Kings, or any Supreme Power at all. In the Second, the same *Innocent the III.* (or rather, indeed, his Nephew *Gregory the IX.* for him) Excommunicates all Hereticks; and to that purpose, here makes use of his own pretended Third Canon in the Great Council of *Lateran.* Of which, because when I come to your Fourth sort of Arguments, I must give a larger account, I'll say no more at present, save only, that it makes no special mention of, and therefore does no way extend to either Emperour, King, or any Supreme State, Prince or Lord at all. In the Third, *Gregory the IX.* declares them absolv'd from all duty of Allegiance, Homage or other service, who had



been owing any upon any account to such as are manifestly fallen into Heresy. Nor has that Canon *Ab-solutos* ought else; no mention of King, or Prince, or Sovereign Power; nor extension neither to, nor comprehension of their Dominions. In the Fourth, that is Cap. *Gravem*, *Honorius* the III. commands that the Subjects of a certain Count, by Title *Comes Registrans*, who had pertinaciously continu'd under Excommunication above two years, should be declar'd thenceforth absolv'd from their Vassallage and Allegiance to him, untill he obey'd a Judicial sentence pronounc't against him by the Judges, in behalf of some Churchmen and their Church that he had wrong'd. Where, without question, there can be nothing to your purpose; since, as *Widdrington*, and *Barclay* too before him, has observed, that Count himself and all his people were Subjects to the Temporal Jurisdiction of the Pope. In the Fifth, (Cap. *Nimis*) which is the Forty-third of *Innocent* the III. in his Great *Lateran* Council, 'tis only, first related that *Quidam Laici*, some Lay Persons requir'd an Oath of Allegiance from *Such Ecclesiastical Subjects as possessed no kind of Temporal thing*; and then, 'tis commanded, that they should no more do so. But certainly, according to the Schoolmen, neither Kings, nor Princes, nor Supreme States come under the notion of [*Quidam Laici*,] *Some Lay Persons*, wherever the Law or Canon is not favourable to them. Tho' if they had here, who is it that can see your consequence, in any manner derivable thence, besides your self, I confess, I cannot imagin. Unless, peradventure this be allow'd for convincing, clear and plain Argumentation: Supreme Powers are enjoyn'd by this Canon or Chapter *Nimis*, not to require any Oath of Allegiance from such Ecclesiasticks as possess no kind of Temporal thing; Therefore, it warrants or teaches the Doctrine of the Papal Deposing Power. Besides, your Lordship has imperfectly quoted the Lemma here, by leaving out of it, *Nihil Temporale ab eis habentes*. *Having no Temporal thing from them*. In the Sixth, or Cap. *Solita*, the afore-said *Innocent* the III. Writing to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, determins nothing; but disputes and endeavours to perswade him

him to use the Patriarch of that See with such respect as other Kings do their Bishops, and not to make him sit on the left side of his Footstool. He sayes, indeed, [*Non negamus quin præcellat Imperator in Temporalibus eos tantum qui recipiunt ab eo Temporalia.*] We do not deny that the Emperour excels in Temporals those alone who receive Temporals from him,] and supposes withal that the Emperour had received the Power of the Sword over those only that using the Sword are subject to his Jurisdiction. But these are still but Sayings and Suppositions of a disputing lofty Pope (such as *Innocent the III.* was, if ever there was a lofty Pope at *Rome.*) For tho' both his manifold thundring Excommunications, and more cruel Practises of Depositions too, are manifest in History; and consequently, that he was himself not only for the Doctrine of the Deposing Power; but next to *Gregory the VII.* perhaps the very Chief Deposing Pope; your Cap. *Solita* has no such matters, nor to your purpose any thing else.

8. Having done with the Decretals of *Gregory the IX.* you refer us [*Eadem* p. 36.] to [*Sextus Decretalium*] the Sixth of *Boniface the VIII.* that is to Cap. *Apostolica. de sent. & re iudic.* in 6. Which nevertheless, being only a Judicial sentence of *Innocent the IV.* in a particular matter of Fact, tho' pronounc't by him against a Great Emperour, and in the very First Council of *Lyons* too, can do your Lordship no Service at all; no not so much, I say, as might otherwise be expected from a meer Papal Canon, truly such. But of this matter again more at large, where I answer your Fourth sort of Proofs from Councils.

9. You refer us [*Eadem* p. 36.] to your beloved *Liber Septimus Decretalium* for Canon-Law, tho' never yet Canoniz'd for such, as I have prov'd before. However, you refer us therein to Lib. 2. Tit. 1. Cap. 1. which begins *Ad reprimendas*; and Tit. 2. Cap. 2. *Statuimus*; and Lib. 5. Tit. 3. de Hæret. & Schismaticis. Cap. 9. *Cum ex Apostolatus, &c.* And yet in the First of these (which is Cap. *Ad Reprimendas*) *Martin the V.* supposes only That Clerks and their Goods are not subject to Lay Judges, without once mentioning any

any thing of Supreme Powers, who certainly (as I observ'd before) come not in the eye of the Law, under the notion of *Lay-Judges*, at least in matters or precepts that are odious and penal. The next indeed, (Cap. *Statuimus*) which is an Ordinance of *Leo* the X. in his Council of *Lateran*, tho' still but supposing the Goods of the Church to be exempt from the disposal of Laicks, not only by *Human* but *Divine Right*, proceeds expressly to Censures even against the very Supreme Powers *in specie*, that would imbezzle or detain them from the Church contrary to the tenour of that Ordinance. And yet I do not see how either of these two Chapters, that of *Martin*, or this of *Leo*, were they in every respect as full as they might possibly be, should be made use of by your Lordship to infer the Papal Deposing Power, &c. Nay, did we admit the Goods and Persons too of Churchmen, were not by the Concession and Grant of Princes, but *Jure Divino* exempt from all Jurisdiction of Princes and Supreme Powers on Earth; how after all, you can thus conclude, *Ergo*, the Church or Pope is impower'd by God or Man to depose those very Powers, I cannot understand. Surely Exemption (for example) from the Ordinary, doth not impower the exempt to depose the Ordinary: And a thousand such Examples may be instanced. Whence it must follow, that neither that Constitution of *Leo* can be useful to your Lordships purpose. As for the former of *Martin* the V. 'tis wary enough, and right: because from inferiour *Lay-Judges* the Clergy, and their Goods and Causes are exempt by the Constitutions of Emperours, especially those of *Fridericus* the II. in relation to which *Martin* there does speak. The last, which begins, *Cum ex Apostolatus*, is the only one, among all your quotations of the Canon-Law, that has the semblance of a Canon to your purpose. A thundring Bull, or Constitution of *Paul* the IV. it is, that proceeds *in specie* as well against all Princes, Kings and Emperours, nay and Popes themselves; as in general against all inferiour Laicks and Ecclesiasticks on Earth, that did or should at any time fall into either *Heresy* or *Schism*; declaring them all *ipso facto* depriv'd of all their former

mer Titles, Powers, Rights, &c. And all this only on a bare tacit Supposition of such an Almighty Deposing Power invested in the Pope; there being not otherwise in this very Bull, how extravagant and lofty soever, the least word importing any Definition, Determination or Declaration, properly such, of the Question or matter of *Right*, as they call it; or (which is it I mean) that there is either from God or Man any such Power invested in the Apostolick See of *Rome*. Tho' after all, it matters not a pin for your Lordship's purpose here, from the Canon-Law, what either that Constitution of *Paulus* the IV. or the two former of *Leo* and *Martin* contain, suppose, declare, or not, in any manner; because none of all three is *Canon-Law*; as indeed, no more is any thing else contain'd in the *Seventh Book* of the *Decretals* (as there contain'd) how solemnly and often soever you quote it for such.

Now this being a true, tho' brief account of all those places your Lordship refers us to in the Canon-Law for such; I think it appears, 1. That, besides *Gratian's* Transition, and *Gregory* the VII. mistaken Relation, impos'd on us for two Canons, there are sixteen Chapters quoted by you that have not a word of any such matter as you quote 'em for, the Papal Deposing Power. 2. That of the remaining Eight, *viz.* Cap. *Nos Sanctorum, Furatos, Vergentis, Excommunicamus, Absolutos, Gravem, Apostolica, cum ex Apostolatus*; only the last, and it no Canon-Law, extends to the Deposition either of any *Supreme* Temporal Powers, or indeed any Power at all (Supreme or Subordinate) not subject to the Temporal Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical State: none of the other seven Canons requiring other extension of their words or sense. For, according to the Rule of the Canon and Civil Law both, *Odia sunt restringenda*, the words of *Penal* Constitutions, as such, are to be restrain'd; that is, confin'd to the narrowest sense the property of them and the subject matter can bear. And for what especially concerns the *Supreme* Powers, whether Spiritual or Temporal, they are never understood to be comprehended in any general words of Disciplinary Canons or Precepts, where special mention is not made of them: as generally



nerally all, both Civilians and Canonists, nay, and Divines too that handle this Subject, do teach. 3. That however, or whatever the most prejudic't of men shall pretend the Sense or Extension of all, or any of those very last seven or eight Canons to be, it nevertheless abundantly appears (as it may farther yet withal evidence imaginable appear to any that pleases to consult the Letter or Text of them) that, for the Doctrin it self of the *Deposing Power*, no body can pretend there is so much as any one of the Eight, not even the very last of them, can signify more than the bare supposing of it by the Author of the Canon: and consequently neither his Defining, nor his Determining, nor his Declaring, nor his Teaching, in any proper Pastoral way, that Doctrin to be True; nor his enjoyning, the Faithful to believe, hold, or maintain it for such; tho' out of a bare supposal of it, he proceed to Ecclesiastical Censures, and other Practises answerable to such a supposition or supposed Power in him, how vainly and falsely soever supposed by him. 4. That among those very Eight, there is not one that ought to be alledg'd, no not for so much as a Probable or likely argument, tho' but from such a weakly Topick, to infer what you drive at thereby.

And yet after all, did I grant your Lordship that every one of these Eight, nay, of as many more as you please of the whole six and twenty, were material, full, clear, home to your purpose and point, as much as possibly any meer Papal Canons could be; Did I farther grant they were, every one of them, good undoubted Canon-Law, that is, none of 'em either the mistaken words of *Gratian*, or mistaking Narration of *Gregory the VII.* or a Text of *Liber Septimus Decretalium*; could your Lordship conclude what your purpose must be here? Could you infer that very Deposing Power, with all its consequential bloody Positions, to be either *Believ'd as part of their Creed*, or so much as *allow'd for sound Doctrin* by the *Catholick Church* of all Nations communicating with the Pope? Certainly, to me 'tis very improbable, if not impossible, that your Lordships own self should believe you could. For even, in case of such a Concession, this must have been your  
Argument

Argument summ'd up in short. *Gregory the VII.* in two or three places, *Urban the II.* in two, *Symmachus* in one, *Nicholas* in two, *Gelasius* in two, *Foannes* in one, *Innocent the III.* in three or four, *Gregory the IX.* in one, *Honorius the III.* in one, *Innocent the IV.* in one, *Martin the V.* in one, *Leo the X.* in one, and Lastly, *Paul the IV.* in his thundering one, in all thirteen Popes, are plainly for that Deposing Power of the Pope, with all the pernicious bloody consequences of it: *Ergo*, so must the *Roman-Catholick* Church, even as comprehending all the Diffusive Churches of the Pope's Communion, be. But I have already so much at large ruin'd all the Fundamentals of this Inference, (did I grant, I say, the Antecedent, as I neither do, nor can possibly, for any part of it, at least excepting the very last of *Paulus the IV.* which yet is no Canon-Law:) That in this place, I'll only refer your Lordship, 1. To Pope *Adrian the VI.* in his Commentary on the fourth Book of Sentences, *de Ministro Confirmationis*. Where, to prove it certain, that the Pope, even as Pope, may err in matters concerning our very Faith; and that even by teaching Heresy in his Decretal Epistles; he instances in several such very Decretals as are contain'd in the Body of the *Canon-Law* it self. 2. I refer your Lordship to *Melchior Canus* of the *Dominican* Order, primary Professor of Divinity in the University of *Salamanca*, one of the *Tridentin* Fathers, and Bishop of the *Canaries*; who, notwithstanding his being amongst Divines the closest and most eminent stickler of any that I know for the *Canon-Law*, and all the Pope's Decrees therein; yet in his fifth and sixth Book of *Theological Topicks*, \* not only confesses that the being of any Position contain'd in that Law does not conclude it to be a Tenet or Doctrine of Faith, but avers, that several Decretals therein have been by other succeeding Popes, and much better advice, repeal'd, and the quite contrary establish't. Because at first (sayes he) they had proceeded not from any firm Decree,

\* *Canus. l. 5. c. 5. in solut. ad quartum Argumentum, & rursus sub finem Cap. & iterum latius atque ex professo quidem. l. 6. c. 8. p. 282. and 272.*

Decree, but some uncertain weakly opinion of those Great Popes that set them out, &c. 3. I refer you to *Innocent the III.* himself, and *Clement the V.* two great considerable Authors of several Parts of that very *Canon-Law*: Who, nevertheless, acknowledge the same that *Adrian* and *Canus* say of it: the former in *Cap. Quanto. extra. de divortiis*, where he corrects the Errour of his Predecessour Pope *Celestin*, concerning Divorces. The later in *Cap. Meruit (inter Extravag. com. de Privilegiis)* where particularly as to the Kingdom and People of *France*, he retracts and corrects the Extravag. *Unam Sanctam* of *Boniface the VIII.* tho' the only Decretal or Constitution of the *Canon-Law*, that in plain terms, or, at all, equivalently in any other, seems to determine the *Question of Right* concerning the Bishop of *Rome's* deriving from Christ the Supreme Authority of the two Swords on Earth; or consequently, that *Declares, Defines, Teaches* (for so it does) *that all Creatures are bound, if they will be saved, to be subject to him.* 4. I refer you to my own Answers (in the former 18th. Section) to your Eighth Supposition, and to *Pithou* and *Caron* quoted there: who can inform you at large, that beside the foresaid Extravagant *Unam Sanctam*, the whole *Sextus Decretalium* of *Boniface the VIII.* and all those Canons too, even of *Gregory the IX.* in his former five Books of Decretals, which contain any thing derogatory or prejudicial to their genuin Rights, are utterly rejected by the Kingdom and Church of *France*, tho' the most Christian, best beloved, and most deserving still of the Pope ever since King *Pipin's* Reign for 800. years at least. So far is that very Kingdom, and Church, from believing all the Books, Parts, Passages, Decretals, Extravagants of the *Canon-Law* to be either true or just in themselves. Nay, so far is that very Illustrious *Roman-Catholick* Neighbour-Nation from approving, receiving and obeying that Law in all her Courts and Consistories as a Rule of Justice, betwixt party and party, especially betwixt the Pope or Court of *Rome*, and Her, or any of her Subjects. Nor is it so in the *Gallican* Church or Kingdom alone, but all over *Europe* out of the Pope's Ecclesiastical State in a little part of *Italy*, for what concerns the Supreme Temporal Jurisdiction

dition any where. For so much, or in such matters, there is not a Kingdom, Principality, State or Church among 'em all that either obeys, or receives, or regards the Canon-Law; as you may be demonstratively convinc't not only by the manifold instances in the Authour of *Jus Belgarum*, but by the known, publick, notorious Practise of the whole *Roman-Catholick* World, especially in other parts abroad, ever since that Law began. And we know that perpetual Custome, and Universal Practise are the best Interpreters of any Law, whether Canon, Civil or Municipal. Tho' this also I must observe, that the constant known Custom and Practise of any one *Roman-Catholick* Kingdom or State, might alone suffice against your Lordship here.

All which being seriously consider'd, I leave it even to your own impartial thoughts, my Lord, whether I have not more than abundantly shewn, that your Second sort of Proofs from the *Canon-Law*, does not evince your purpose? Or, which is the same thing, does not infer this Conclusion; *Ergo*, the Universality of all Churches communicating with the Pope, either believe as part of their Creed, or at least approve for sound Orthodox Doctrine, that of the Deposing Power, with all the very most hideous, cruel, bloody of those Popish Positions your Lordship charges on them all? Nay I leave it to your own discerning Soul to judge, whether if that Argument of yours were turn'd into a formal Syllogism, it could be other in effect than this I frame for you here?  
*viz.*

Whatever Doctrin has been supposed (if not declared) as true by the Popes *Gregory* the VII. *Urban* the II. *Innocent* the III. *Gregory* the IX. *Honorius* the III. and *Innocent* the IV. in so many different places of the *Canon-Law*, is by the Universality of all Churches communicating with the Pope, either believed as part of their Creed, or at least approv'd as Right and Orthodox. But the Doctrine of the Deposing Power, and by consequence even all the Bloody train of your Lordships most hideous, cruel Popish Positions, has been suppos'd (if not declar'd) as true, by the Popes, *Gregory*, &c. in so many different places of the *Canon-Law*. *Ergo*, the Doctrin of the Deposing Power, and by consequence, all the  
bloody



bloody train of your Lordships most hideous, cruel, Popish Positions, is by the Universality of all Churches communicating with the Pope, either *believ'd as part of their Creed*, or at least *approved as Right and Orthodox*. And then I leave it still to your own interior Light, to see whether, as the *Major* of this Syllogism is the only medium you could assume to infer your Conclusion, so it be not manifestly False? And whether I have not both here, and before, in my Answer to your Eighth Supposition prov'd it to be such? And consequently, whether the Conclusion can be other or truer? Yea, tho' I had never said any thing against your *Minor*, but allow'd it without qualification or any distinction at all, as you know I have not. Moreover, I leave it likewise to your own Reflections to consider a little, if the Canon-Law be such a *Sink of Forgeries, Impiety and Disloyalty* as your Lordship says [page 35.] it is, whether you have not purpose'y render'd it far worse than it was in its self before? Whether you have not impos'd upon it no less than Sixteen *Forged, Impious, Disloyal Canons*; whereof there is not a word, no nor any mention to be seen, but only in the References of your Book?

*Lastly*, Considering that that very Canon-Law, notwithstanding all the imperfections of it, has been these hundred years past, and is at present still, the standing Rule of Justice in your own Ecclesiastical Courts of the very Protestant *Church of England*, and that, for a huge variety of Causes and Matters too: whether it had not become the Bishop of *Lincoln*, not to asperse it so exorbitantly as you do, my Lord, in your five and thirtieth Page?

Section.

## S E C T. XXI.

**T**O your Third sort of Arguments, the Excommunication and Deposition of the Emperour Henry IV. by *Hildebrand*; of Frederick II. by Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. of our Henry VIII. by Paul III. of Q. Elizabeth by Pius V. and of all Heretical Emperours, Kings, Princes, &c. both by *Bulla Cœne* (for so you say, tho' truly it has not one word of *Deposition*) and by another more special Bull or Constitution of Paul IV.

The Answer is, (1.) That here's no addition of Strength to your Argument grounded on the Canon-Law: nothing but *Idem per idem*, the same often soddan Coleworts again; the same, or rather some few of the same Popes again, with Pius Quintus in the rear of them, boldly assuming, and with all their might exerting that very main Deposing Power, which they never had from God nor man, but unwarrantably and unchristianly assum'd to themselves. And, therefore, it matters not a pin that those instances here are much more *Authentick* Testimonies than most of those other alledg'd by your Lordship out of the Cannon-Law in the former Argument. For still the same Answer returns, that the Usurpation of Popes in this matter, has never had the Consent, never the Approbation, never so much as a bare Connivance of the *Roman-Catholick* Church.

Witness those Great Councils of German, French, See *Joannes Rossensis contra Bellarm. l. 1. c. 8. & Caron Remonst. Hibernorum. Part 2. c. 6. & 7.* where to the same purpose you may see at large 15 other Councils too besides those here quoted.

A 2

and

and Italian Bishops at *Worms*, Anno 1075. at *Pavia*, 1076. at *Mentz*, 1070. at *Brixia*, 1080. at *Mentz* again, 1085. at *Rome*, Anno 1089 and yet a Third at *Mentz* (in the time of *Urban II.*) in the month of *May*: In all (besides this last) even six very numerous Councils; held against and (every one of them) condemning that Doctrine, and the First Author of it, *Gregory the Seventh*. Witness the Imperial *Gibellines* engaged against the Papal *Guelphs* for 300 years at least; even from the days of the said *Gregory* till those at least of *Boniface the Eighth*, only in opposition to that Doctrine, and the Tyrannical Consequents of it. Nay, witness the fatal End of that very *Gregory* himself, dying so uncomfortably a poor banished

*Moritur autem hoc modo Bonifacius ille qui Imperatoribus, Regibus, Principibus, Nationibus terrorem potius quam Religionem injicere conabatur; quique dare Regna & auferre, pellere homines ac reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur; aurum undique conquistum, plus quam dici potest, sitiens. Platina.*

man at *Salernum*; and the yet more unhappy of the said *Boniface*, seiz'd in his own Father's house at *Anagnia* by *Sciarra* and *Nogaret*, carry'd Prisoner to *Rome* by night, and perishing there on the five and thirtieth day after. Witness on the contrary side *Frederick the Second*, holding his Em-

pire, and his People and Clergy obeying him, and the Papalins almost every where defeated by him, till his dying day, notwithstanding the Sentence of *Innocent IV.* pronounced against him in the Second Council of *Lyons*. Witness

*Lewis*

*Lewis of Bavier*, tho' excommunicated and sentimentally depos'd even by three Popes one after another, maintaining his Imperial Power nevertheless continually and prosperously for 33 years, while he liv'd on Earth; the very King of *England* himself, *Edward III.* being part of that time his *Vicar* in the *Empire* by Commission from him Yea, witness not only the Subjects of *England* and *Ireland* both, however then all Roman-Catholicks, yet generally continuing Faithful to *Henry VIII.* but the *French* King and Nation holding firmly to their former alliance with him during his Life; and, after his death, praying even publickly, and very solemnly too, for his Soul, at *Nostre-dame* at *Paris*. So little did either his own Subjects or their Neighbouring Forainers value that Papal Sentence of Excommunication, Deposition, &c. pronounced against him by *Paulus Quartus*. And as to *Q. Elizabeth* her self and the Bulls of *Pius Quintus* deposing her, witness again all the diffused Body of Roman-Catholicks of *Brittish* Extraction throughout *Ireland* every where; who in that time of Tryal (during *Tyrone's* wars) approved themselves very loyal Subjects to her; yea so fortunately Loyal to her that the Earl of *Crimrackard*, one of them, was the very First that charg'd and broke that cunning and formidable Enemy at the Battle of *Kinsale*; which in effect was the great Blow that reduc'd that who'e Kingdom to her Obedience within a little while after. Witness moreover, in *K. James* his time, the *Venetian* Quarrel with Pope *Paul the Fifth*, and the issue of it so much



grief; having in vain assay'd the *Emperour*, *Spaniard*, *French* to assist him against his rebellious Children of that resolute State, who slighted both his Excommunication and Interdict. Finally, witness those numberless numbers of Catholick Bishops, Priests, Monks, Clergy, People who (says your own *Roffensis* quoted before) notwithstanding all the Excommunications, Bulls, Depositions, privations, Curses, Interdictions of Popes, remained constant even to blood and death in their Allegiance to their Deposed *Princes*.

All which, besides what else *I* have said before in Answer to your Fourth and Tenth Supposition, if your Lordship do but reflect upon it a little, must undoubtedly perswade you that neither does your Third sort of Argument, (how great and *Authentick* soever the Testimonies produc'd therein be) conclude the Roman-Catholick Church any other way concern'd, either in the Practice or Theory of the Deposing-Power-doctrin, than to condemn them both for ever; and (for so much) together with them, their Authors, Abettors, Followers; whoever they have been, or at this very present, are. In short, as the Pope and Court of *Rome* with all their ambitious Flatterers, wherever dispersed, on one side; and the Roman Catholick Church on the other, are very different things in themselves; so are their Sentiments and Practises no less different in this matter, and have been so these six hundred years.

## S E C T. XXII.

**Y**Our Fourth, and Last, and strongest sort of Proofs (as you esteem it) for the Deposing Power, and all your consequential Charge of Popish Principles, &c. Your Lordship ushers in thus: pag. 41. *[Well, but if all this will not do; if the Testimonies of their own Writers (which both for Learning and Dignity in their Church are most eminent) Nor their receiv'd and establish'd Laws and Canons, nor their Authentick Papal Bulls and Decretal Constitutions: I say, if all these be not Evidence enough to entitle the Church of Rome to this Seditious Impious, and to Kings (especially if they be Protestants) pernicious doctrine; yet the Decrees and Canons of their own General Councils (which, by their own Principles and Confessions are Representatives of their whole Church, and Infallible) I say, the Decrees of such Councils, (if there be any such) will and must be undeniable Evidences of what I have said in this particular. And that their approved General Councils have approved this Doctrine of the Popes Power to depose Kings and Emperours, and absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, I shall give you two or three evident instances.]* So says your Lordship here: And so is your well-meaning credulous Reader, that considers only the bare words and great fame of the Bishop of Lincoln, prepar'd, nay so he must be perswaded by you to expect no less than Demonstration to follow. Which yet is so far otherwise, that I, for my part, not only hold this last sort of your Proofs to be no better nor stronger than the very weakest of

your former Three; but in three Lines only, were I so minded, could sufficiently answer it, and ruin it utterly before any Indifferent understanding Judge. But I am not so minded yet. For since your Lordship has put all the stress of your whole Book on this Argument alone, your last sort of Proofs; I also out of respect to your Lordship, think it fitting to consider it a little more at large. What it is in its self we may see (immediately after your said Introduction) by your Lordships referring us, First, to the Deposition of the Emperour *Frederick II.* by Pope *Innocent IV.* in the first Council of *Lyons*, *after diligent deliberation had with his Brethren and Council.* Secondly, to the Third Canon of the Great Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent III.* For these two, and these alone, are and must be those *two or three evident Instances* you promise before to give, since you bring them and no other, nor is there a Third appearing elsewhere after. What you, consequently, next aver (partly in your 41. and partly in your 44. page) is that these two Councils were *General*; and that the Canons commonly attributed to the Second of them (*viz.*) the *Lateran* are not supposititious or spurious. Tho' for that of *Lyons* to have been such you bring no Proof but your own naked asseveration in these words: [ *for, a General Council they do universally acknowledge it.* ] Indeed, for the other to have been such, besides the like General expression in these other words [ *That, all their Writers de Conciliis, (which you have hitherto met with) do universally acknowledge it to have been a General Council.* ]

you add in particular that *Petrus Crabb, Surius Binius, Joverius, Caranza, Bellarmine, Longus & Coriolano, Rivus, Naldus*, and some Lemmas too of some Chapters in the Canon-Law (specially of *cap. Firmiter. Extra. de sum. Trinitate*) Nay, and the very Councils of *Constance Sess. 35.* and *Trent Sess 24. c. 5. de Reform.* have respectively given it for, acknowledg'd, call'd it a *General Council*. And so much, indeed, you alledge to prove it such; besides your Flourish of 1215. Fathers in it, and amongst them the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Hierusalem*. But to prove the Canons of it *Genuin* not a Word; save only that *Constance* quoted one, and *Trent* one more of them, tho, had your Lordship been a little more diligent; you might have quoted two more out of very *Trent*, then you have, *viz. Sess. 14. Can. 8. de Pœnit. Sacram. & Sess. 21. cap. 9. de Reform.* Which yet every Man sees is no Proof at all, at least for any of the rest; among which, being in all Sixty, Seventy, or Seventy two, the Controverted Third Canon is one. And yet your Lordship knew full well, the Controversy about this Council, at least in reference to our present Debate, to be, if not only, or chiefly, I am sure mightily concerning the being of those Canons *Genuin*, or *Spuriu*. Wherein, notwithstanding, I confess, you have but observ'd your ordinary Prudential Course, either to suppose or pass over Sleightly, that which you foresaw could not be proved. How necessary soever it was to your Conclusion. And I could heartily wish that were all the Art your Lordship had made use of in your Allega-



tion of this *Lateran* Council, or its foresaid Third Canon.

But ere I come either to lay that Matter of Artifice open, or to give you my own positive Sense in answer to this Complex *Achillean* Proof of yours from *Lyons* and *Lateran*; which it seems you finally and only Rely on: give me leave to tell your Lordship, that I cannot sufficiently admire that a Man of your vast Reading could be ignorant of Cardinal *Contarenus* his Book of General Councils, dedicated to *Paul* the III. and Cardinal *Pool's* *London* Synod in *L'Abbe* and *Cossart*, and the Council of *Florence* it self under *Lugenius* the IV. and the publick impression thereof, under the Title of the *Eighth General Synod*, with the Licence and Approbation of of *Clement* the VII. Prefixt to it; or lastly, of *Joannes Launojus*, the late *Parisian* Doctor, in his Epistolar Tomes where he Treats these Matters at large; especially in his Epistle to *Claudius Amelina*, (Tom. 8.) And, if you be not wholly a Stranger to all these Authors and Books, how could your Lordship aver (as you do) that all the Romanists *Universally acknowledge* these two Councils for General.

I am sure that whoever makes the *Florentine* Synod the eighth General, must consequently and evidently Exclude all, both the two of *Lyons* and the whole Five of *Lateran*, every one, besides some other, from the Notion of General: But *Contarenus* and *Pool*, and *Clement* the VII. and the *Florentine* Synod it self make this very *Florentine* the VIII. General Council. Which being so, and being these Great Authors were undoubtedly *Romanists*, I leave you to consider a little,

whether this one Assertion of theirs does not Dig up the very Foundation of your whole Fa-  
brick here ? Whether it does not with one  
Breath utterly defeat and throw down to the  
Ground, and Chace out of the Field for ever  
this Great *Achilles* of your only Proof, your  
two pretended *General Councils*.

Besides, I am sure the Celebrated *Richerius* in  
his History of General Councils does not so  
much as name either of those you so much va-  
lue ; save only that Accidentally or Transiently  
in one or two Lines he mentions your first of  
*Lyons* ; tho not as a Council of the Church, but  
as a great Papal Consistory , wherein there  
was a Judicial Sentence Pronounc't in a meer  
Matter of Fact by the Pope alone, and his own  
only proper Authority.

Farther I am sure that *Launoius* (Epist. ad *Rai-  
mundum Fermentinum* Part. 7. Epi.) clearly proves  
ad hominem against *Bellarmin*, that, according to the  
conditions requir'd by *Bellarmino* himself for a  
General Council, that of *Lyons* could not be *Gene-  
ral*. In short, as he says, neither was the Indi-  
ction of it General, neither does the Summoner  
of it, *Innocent the IV.* himself, anywhere call it  
Occumenical, Universal or General: Nor ( for  
ought appears ) were the Bishops either of *Italy*,  
or *Sicily*, or *Germany*, or *Arragon*, or *Castile*, or *Por-  
tugal* Summon'd to it; nor any others but the  
Bishop of *Ostia*, the King of *France*, the Arch-  
Bishop of *Sens* with his Chapter, and the Bi-  
shops of *England*. And *Odericus Raynaldus*, the  
Continuator of the Ecclesiastical History, tho  
he had diligently search't the Pontifical Regi-  
sters

sters of that Pope *Innocent*, could not meet with Summons to any others. As for the Orientals, 'tis out of all question that they were not call'd at all, so that, (says *Launoy*) unless *Bellarmino* would have a few Bishops so Convened out of *France* and *England*, together with the Cardinals of *Rome* to be call'd a *General Council*, this of *Lyons* could not be *General*.

Moreover, I am sure that give it and the other of *Lateran* with it what Name you please,

even your own most Learned (a) *Roffensis* has not only at large, and by Manifold Arguments prov'd against

(a) *De potestate Papæ, &c. l. 1. c. 6, pag. 81. et sequentibus.*

*Bellarmino*, that the Fathers of

it had neither part nor share by Approbation or Consent in the Sentence pronounced in it by the Pope against the Emperour; but no less Accurately shews against the same *Bellarmino*, that those 60, or 70, or 72. (for so many, and so variously they are represented) which have been of late Obtruded on us for *Genuine Canons*, of the Great *Lateran Council* under *Innocent the III.* are truly *Supposititious* and *Spurious*, and the Conceptions only of that *Innocent* himself; or rather, indeed, of some *Impostor* in his Name after the suddain Dissolution of that Council; which Dissolution was occasion'd by the War suddainly broke out in *Italy* betwixt the *Genoveses*, *Pisans*, and others on that side the Alps: To Compose which the Pope was forced no less suddainly to withdraw to *Perusium*, where he soon after dy'd. (2.) That by reason of that suddain War, as *Platina* himself confesses

(b) confesses, and (c) *Naucle-*  
*rus* too plainly enough tells,  
 besides what *Mathew Paris* (d)  
 Writes, nothing of all that  
 were Propounded in that  
 Council could be openly, i. e.

(b) *In vitâ Innocentii*  
*tertii.*

(c) *Generacione* 41.  
*An.* 1215.

(d) *In Joanne an.*  
 1215.

expressly or clearly concluded. which, certainly,  
 could not with any Truth be said, if the  
 point of Reformation of the Church (which  
 was one of the three great pretended Ends for  
 calling that Council) had been concluded by  
 the Assent of the Fathers to those pretended Se-  
 venty two Canons.

Certain likewise I am that, whether these Ca-  
 nons of *Lateran*, as attributed to the Fathers or  
 to *Innocent* himself, were Genuin or Forged, e-  
 ven also your own other most Illustrious Wri-  
 ter, Primate *Bramhall* Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*,  
 both flatly denies and manifestly Evinces they  
 were never at any time receiv'd in *Eng-*  
*land*; as he does also that they were not  
 Assented to by that Council. For thus he  
 delivers himself on this point in his *Schism*  
*Guarded*, Tom. 1. p. 328. That [the Popes Decrees  
 never had the force of Laws in *England*, without the Con-  
 firmation of the King; Witness the Decrees of the Council  
 of *Lateran*, as they are commonly call'd; But it is as clear as  
 the Day to any one who Reads the Eleventh, the Six and  
 Fortieth, and the one and Sixtieth Chapters, that they were  
 not made by the Council of *Lateran*, but some time after;  
 perhaps not by *Innocent* the III. but by some Succeeding  
 Pope. For the Author of 'em doth distinguish himself ex-  
 pressly from the Council of *Lateran*: It was well provided in  
 the Council of *Lateran*, &c. But because that Statute is not ob-  
 served in many Churches, We, Confirming the foresaid Statute,  
 do add, &c. Again, It is known to be prohibited in the Council  
 of *Lateran*, &c. But we inhibiting the same more strongly, &c.

Howsoever



Howsoever they were the Popes Decrees, but never were received as Laws in England, as we see evidently by the Third Chapter, That the Goods of Clergy-men being convicted of Heresy be Forfeited to the Church: That, all Officers Secular and Ecclesiastical should take an Oath at their Admission into their Offices, to their Power to Purge their Territories from Heresy: That, if a Temporal Lord did neglect, being Admonish't by the Church to Purge his Lands from Heresy, he should be Excommunicated: And if he contemn'd to Satisfy within a Year, the Pope should absolve his Subjects from their Allegiance, &c. And, by the Three and Fortieth Chapter, That no Ecclesiastical Person be Compell'd to Swear Allegiance to a Lay-Man. And, by the Six and Fortieth Chapter, That Ecclesiastical Persons be free from Taxes. We never had any such Laws. All Goods forfeited in that kind were ever Confiscated to the King. We never had any such Oaths, every one is to Answer for himself. We know no such Power in the Pope to absolve Subjects from their Allegiance in our Law, with us Clergy-Men did ever pay Subsidies and Taxes as well as Lay-Men. This is one Liberty which England hath, not to admit of the Popes Laws unless they like 'em.] So that Second most Reverend Prelate and Illustrious Writer of the present Protestant Church of England.

Certain also I am that to the same purpose Sir Roger Twisden has deliver'd himself on this Subject in his Vindication of the Church of England, Chap. 8. num. 18. where he Proves clearly that, notwithstanding any endeavours of the English Clergy or of their Arch-Bishop Stephen Langton in his Council at Oxford An. 1222. those Canons of Lateran under Innocent the III. were not receiv'd in this Kingdom: as he proves also that neither indeed were the former Canons of that other Lateran Council, which was held under Innocent the II. receiv'd here.

And now, my Lord, having oppos'd so many Allegations (whereof I am sure and certain,

as to every one of them, That they are rightly quoted ) and having oppos'd them, I say, to those your two, whether Assertions or Expressions which I Noted before, concerning those Councils being *Occumenical*, and the Canons *Genuin* and *Universally* receiv'd; what I would farther observe in this place, is

( 1. ) That here you see out of your own very Protestant Church of *England* three Judicious, Learned ( Yea, two of them most Illustrious ) Writers on the point against you : and that, as you well know who has said *Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur*, [A threefold cord is not easily broken, *Eccle. 4. 12.*] so you may perhaps find this a very hard twist to be undone or broken.

( 2. ) That, altho it cannot be rationally presum'd, that your Lordship should never have Read either *Widdrington's* last *Reioynder* cap. 9, 10, 11, &c. on the controverted Third Canon of our present *Lateran* Council, or the First Chapter of his *Discussio Discussionis Decreti Concilii Magni Lateranensis* ; nor, consequently, should ever have consider'd those Manifold Arguments produc'd therein, partly, to prove that very Canon, Yea, and all the rest of the Sixty or Seventy, even *Supposititious* and *Spurious* ( as attributed to the Fathers of that Council ) and, partly, to Answer at large what's objected to the contrary out of Cardinal *Perrou* and others; altho, I say, no such Matter can be rationally presum'd of your Lordship ; yet by your silence it may be presum'd you thought it your best course to take no kind of notice of any of all those Arguments, Proofs, or Answers.

3. That

( 3. ) That Cardinal *Bellarmino* himself did a long while, Nay, almost all his Life, so little value that *Lateran* Canon you esteem so much, that in his great Work of Controversies, and Books therein *de Romano Pontifice*, where he Amass'd together all his Strength, and all the Councils he then saw, might be with any colour alledg'd to prove the Popes pretence of Authoritative Power for Deposing even *Supreme* Temporal Princes, or inflicting on them Coercively Temporal Punishments; omitted notwithstanding any kind of mention of this *Lateran* Council or Canon. Nor had he after at any time Recourse thereunto, before he saw himself in his Old Age baffled and beaten out of all his former Arguments from Scriptures, Canons, and all his pitiful Congruities from Reason, by Doctor *William Barclay* ( or *Barclay* the Father ) in his learned Work *de potestate Papæ : An et quatenus in Reges & principes seculares jus & imperium habeat ?* For then it was, that, for saving his own Credit all he could, in his reply to the said *William Barclay* ( tho dead before this Reply ) he thought fit to impose on the World by that Insignificant ( if not plainly Forged ) Canon of the Fourth *Lateran* Council : as *Lessius*, another of his own Society, and sometime a famous Professor of Divinity in their House at *Lovain*, had done before him, to render the English Oath of Allegiance. ( that, I mean, which is in the Statute of K. *James* ) Uncatholick and Odious upon this account. But he had better have let *W. Barclay* alone : For, notwithstanding all his Eminency of Title, and  
all

all his Learning too, he was most shamefully the second time Foil'd in all his Allegations and Arguments. And he was Foil'd so, I say, by *John Barclay*, Son to the said *William*. For, in Vindication partly of his Father, tho perhaps chiefly, of the common Cause of all Princes, and Truth, and Christianity it self, did that Pious learned Son *John Barclay* set forth his Exquisite Reply entitled *Pietas Joannis Barclaii*, or his *publica pro Regibus & principibus, & privata pro Gulielmo Barclaio parente vindiciæ, adversus Roberti S. R. E. Cardinalis Bellarmini Tractatum de potestate summi pontificis in Temporalibus*. Wherein, particularly for what concerns this Council and Third Canon of it, his *Examen in Prolegomena Roberti Bellarmini*, Num. 27. may be read.

(4.) That, notwithstanding your Flourish of a Thousand two hundred and fifteen Fathers, and the Patriarchs of Hierusalem and Constantinople, and the Bishops of almost the whole World, which you take from *Naldus*; yet, after all, 'tis plain that of those one thousand two hundred and fifteen, there were above Eight hundred no Bishops at all, but Abbots or Priors only; not above 400. at least not above 414. Bishops in the whole; and none of all, other than a Member only of the Latin Church; (those very two Patriarchs, being themselves *Latins*) and, consequently, not one of the Greek Church, or of any other Part or Church of the World, among 'em. Which I purposely observe, to remove that vain pretence of this Council's being, tho but for so much, like an *Occumenical* Council, truly such.

5. And



( 5. ) And, lastly, That, whether those Councils of *Lyons* and *Lateran* were, or either of them was *General*, or not : or, whether those 60, 70. or 72. of *Lateran*, or any of them, be *Supposititious*, or rather all of them *Genuin*, all of them the *whole* Councils, or most or any of them only *Innocent's*? or, whether they were receiv'd in *England* particularly, nay, or generally and *Universally* too ( if you please ) throughout the *Christian World*, or whether they were not so received any where ; I am for my part no way concern'd. For my Province here is only to overthrow any Conclusion of yours, as derivable to your main purpose against the *Roman-Catholick-Church*, from those two Councils or either of them. And this I doubt not to do with full Satisfaction to all indifferent Men; whatever in the mean time be said on either side to those incidental *Queries*.

Therefore, to your Council of *Lyons*, tho last in time yet because first in the order observed by your Lordship, that I may Answer now, I say, that surely in all Contingencies and Suppositions whatsoever you can possibly make, your Lordship must confess, *That* Deposition of *Frederick* determin'd and pronounc't in it, to have been no other at best or at most than a meer Judicial Sentence, in a particular Case of one particular Person, tho otherwise a Great Emperour. So far was it from being either a Canon of Faith, or a Canon of Discipline, or any kind of Canon, Rule or direction at all for Belief or Manners to the *Christian Church*. And therefore, did we suppose, it had not only all the

the very both Essential, and Circumstantial Formalities of a just, Legal and Canonical Sentence; ( of which notwithstanding it wanted but too many: ) or did we suppose the Accusations against *Frederick* throughly Examined, and the Witnesses on both sides beyond Exception, and depos'd on Oath, and himself withal either Contumacious, or not hastening all he could to appear personally to clear himself in the Council; and his Procuratours in the mean while not refuting with much Eloquence, Reason and Clearness all that was laid to his charge. Or did we suppose the Articles against him not to have been so many, and so intricate, and so hard or rather impossible to be proved, as they were. Or did we suppose the Judge himself, who was only the Pope to have not been both Judge and Party, and his Mortal Enemy too; nay so professedly his Enemy, that as he refus'd to allow him one Fortnights time longer to appear, so he declar'd that if he should appear, himself would Fly away out of the Council. Or, did we suppose that neither fear of this *Innocent* ( so terrible a Pope as he is said to have been ) nor even dread nor Jealousy of *Frederick* himself, as intending to reduce the Bishops to the Primitive Poverty of Christ and his Apostles, had not wholly ( at least mightily ) byast the Fathers in this Council against him. Or did we suppose they were not mov'd nor drawn at all to their Concurrence by the Golden Bull of that Emperour, which *Innocent* caus'd to be read to them in Publick; importing chiefly that he had taken an Oath of Fidelity

and Homage to his Predecessour Pope *Honorius*, as a meer Vassal to his Lord, when he was made Emperour, to succeed *Otho* the former Emperour whom *Honorius* had depos'd: Nor, likewise were any ways moved neither by his having had some time before *positively Sworn by Embassadors particularly Authoriz'd, to stand to the Judgement of the Pope and Church*, nor by his falling off soon after from all such Matters. Or, did we suppose that *Sacro præsentè Concilio* (the words of *Innocent* himself in his Bull of Deposition) imported the very same with *Sacro approbante Concilio*: Nay, that the Fathers themselves were even really and inwardly of this opinion, that the Pope had by virtue of his Keys and *Quodcunq; ligaveris, &c.* full Authority from Christ to do what he did herein; and that meerly out of this very opinion of theirs they had heartily concurr'd to and approv'd of that Sentence, yea and approved of it even by a peculiar Instrument under all their own proper Hands, *tám ad majorem roborationem quàm ad memoriam Rei sempiternam*, says *Matthew Paris* in *Henry the III.* Or, lastly, did we suppose not only all this together; but whatever else you please or can with any kind of Colour, ground or pretence, either against or according to the whole or any part of the History of this Council in the said *Paris*; yet, after all, your Lordship must have been as far as from East to West from Evidence enough, nay, from any Evidence at all to entitle the Church of Rome (taken *pro famosiori significato* for the Roman-Catholick) to this seditious, impious, and to Kings  
(especially

especially if they be Protestants ) Pernicious either Doctrine or Practice of the Papal deposing Power. And the reason is apparently obvious, because, in all such Contingencies and Suppositions soever, that Act of Deposition must still remain unalterable in it's own nature of a meer Judicial Sentence, in a particular Case involving many particular matters of Fact, of one particular Person, tho' a great Emperour. And your Lordship cannot so much as pretend that ( excepting only those few Temerarious Men, perhaps two or three Scholastick Professours of the Colledge of Clermont, of whom I have spoken before ) any portion or part, any Church, or School, or Colledge or Person, or Author, or Writer whatsoever of the Roman-Catholick-Communion has ever yet held a General Council to be Infallible in any such meer Judicial Sentence. Nor can you pretend either that the private opinions that sway'd the Fathers in passing it, are therefore a Canon or Rule to the Faithful. You know my Lord, 'tis so far otherwise that we have seen already *Blasius* himself [*lib. 2. de Conciliis cap. 12.*] teaching us, ( 1. ) That even the most Occumenical Councils truly such may Err, and have *de facto* several of them Err'd in such meer Judicial Sentences of particular Persons and Matters of Fact. ( 2. ) That in reference even to the very Canons of such truly Occumenical Councils, yea such Canons as both Intentionally and expressly extend to all the Faithful and Universal Church of Christ, nay, and such Canons too as are properly *Canons of Faith*, neither the Disputes which are premised,



nor the Reasons which are added, and, consequently, nor the *Opinions* which lead or induce the Fathers to approve 'em, are *de Fide*, or made a Rule to the Faithful; but only the bare words of the Canon; and not those neither *all*, but *such only of them as are set down expressly as matters of Faith*. And as we have seen these two Points to be the Doctrine even of *Bellarmino* himself, so we have before seen at large the Generality of all Roman-Catholick Churches in all Ages, both before and after that Council of *Lyons*, from time to time, ever since the days of *Gregory* the VII. to this present, condemning ( I am sure consequentially and effectually ) that very Sentence of *Lyons*. And we have seen the *French* particularly, manifoldly and eternally condemning that very *Opinion* too, which might have induced the Fathers to approve it. Nay, we have seen them utterly Exploding that whole Part or Volume of the Canon-Law call'd *Sextus Decretalium*, wherein *Boniface* the VIII. ( *Cap. Apostolicæ. de Sent. & re judic. in 6* ) had interted that fatal Sentence against *Frederick*. And to say nothing here, out of *Albertus Stadenfis* in his Chronicle *ad An. 1245*. testifying how at the very time that Sentence was pronounc't, even some Princes with many others exclaim'd against it, saying, *Ad Papam non pertinere Imperatorem instituere vel destituere*, That it belong'd not to the Pope either to make or unmake the Emperour: I am mightily deceiv'd if we have not likewise in History seen the Great God himself most dreadfully manifesting his own Condemnation of that very Sentence of *Lyons*, by

the most Prodigious Scourges that immediately after came on all Christendom on every side, and continu'd so long upon it in *Europe, Asia,* and *Africk.* *Hierusalem* taken by *Saladin.* The whole Christian Army and *St. Lewis* himself their Leader, made Prisoners in *Egypt* to that Infidel Mammaluke. A Second holy Army and Expedition into *Africk* against the *Mahumetan Saracens* under the same Pious King *Lewis* the IX. of *France*, destroy'd before *Tunis* by a Pestilential Judgment from Heaven that bereav'd him of Life amongst others. And in the mean while at home in *Europe* the *Gulphs* and *Gibellines* mortally engag'd against one another, covering all *Italy* and *Germany* with Blood and horror, and Misery, and Woe. I say nothing of the formidable end of that Pope himself, *Innocent* the IV. nothing of your famous Predecessour of *Lincoln*, *Robert Grossthead*, striking him in a Vision by Night on the side with a deadly stroke of his Pastoral Staff; nor a word neither of *Sinibalde Papa miserrime*, and the rest, which your own *Roffensis* has at length l. 2. c. 46. But however these Matters were, or whatsoever was indeed the cause of those terrible Judgments of God on Christendom for so long a time after, I am certain I have, independently of them, clear'd the Roman Catholick Church from the Belief or Approbation either, of that pernicious Doctrine, which Influenc't that Pope or his Council of *Lyons* to Provoke 'em. Nor am I less confident, that, whoever considers Calmly how thirteen hundred Years since, four hundred Catholick Bishops together, met in the

Great Occidental Council at *Ariminum*, were, and *Liberius* himself, the Bishop of *Rome* soon after them was, by fear and other worldly considerations, effectually drawn at last to Subscribe even *Arrianism* it self (which happen'd *An.* 359.) and how all even Catholick Historians and Authors confess this to be true; will not admire that now in the Year 1684. a Catholick Priest admits the Supposition of a far lesser number of Catholick Bishops, that is, a hundred and Forty, in that Council of *Lyons*, to have (*An.* 1245.) yielded by very Subscription, in such manner as I have said, to the *Hildebrandinism* of *Innocent* the IV. It was in a time when the Papacy was in the highest point of it's Exaltation; tho' a time, nevertheless, when yet there were even Occidental Catholicks enow, both Princes and Prelates, and Priests, and People, who shew'd by their opposition that that pretended little Representative had not the Instructions, or Approbation, or consent, or Concurrence either, of Doctrine or Opinion of the Diffusive Represented Western Church herself, to warrant or confirm what they did by that Sentence against *Frederick*. Which is enough to Answer to your Allegation of this Council of *Lyons*.

Only, to close all, I must undeceive your Reader so mightily impos'd upon by your Marginal Note here (*pag.* 42.) where, in express words, you say of this Council of *Lyons*, that [It is one of those General Councils which the Council of Constance decreed all future Popes should swear to maintain, Sess. 39. in forma professionis a  
Papa

*Papa faciendæ.* ] And this in effect you repeat again *pag.*-- And yet no such matter is decreed by *Constance* : For it only decrees that all future Popes should Swear to maintain the *Faith* of those Councils; which is a very different thing from Swearing to maintain those Councils themselves; that is, all their Canons, Judgments, Decrees whatsoever. But an ill Cause must have an ill Support.

## S E C T. XXIII.

AND that it must always be so with your Lordship to the end of the Chapter in this Cause of Popery, as manag'd by you against the Roman-Catholick-Church, nothing can be a clearer evidence than the manifold Arts you use to deceive your Reader with a specious shew at least of the *Lateran* Canon, which is your last Reserve, and we are now come to consider it. Behold the Reason why I find it necessary to lay down here in the first place that very Canon it self in its own express words. I mean that part of it which is in debate; for, otherwise, the whole Canon is a very long one, and above a side of a large Leaf in twelve Paragraphs, and not concerning us at all, but only for that little of it in two Paragraphs which I shall now give first in it's own Original Language, and immediately after exactly Translated into ours. Therefore, in this Canon (which is the third of that Council, but the first of those Seventy of *Discipline* in it, the two former being Canons and Professions of *Faith*) the Fa-



thers, or *Innocent the III.* who called them, or both, or *Gregory the IX.* for both, or who else you please, after declaring in the first three Paragraphs *all Hereticks Excommunicated, their Goods to be Confiscated, their Persons after Condemnation to be left to the secular Magistrates and Bayliffs to be punish't, &c.* in the Fourth and Fifth Paragraph ordain thus to a Tittle. [*Moneantur autem & inducantur, & si necesse fuerit per Censuram Ecclesiasticam compellantur seculares Potestates, cujuscunq; officii, ut sicut reputari cupiunt & haberi Fideles, ita pro defensione Fidei præstent publicè juramentum quod de Terris suæ Jurisdictioni subiectis, universos Hereticos ab Ecclesiâ denotatos, bonâ fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt, ita quod amodo quandocunque, quis fuerit in potestatem, sive perpetuam sive temporalem, assumptus, hoc teneatur Capitulum firmare. || Si vero Dominus Temporalis, requisitus & monitus ab Ecclesiâ terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hac hereticâ feditate, per Metropolitanum & Comprovinciales Episcopos Excommunicationis vinculo innodetur. Et, si satis facere contempserit infra annum, significetur hoc summo Pontifici, ut extunc ipse Vasallos ab eius Fidelitate denunciaret absolutos, & terram exponat Catholicis occupandam; qui eam, exterminatis hereticis, sine ullâ contradictione possideant, & in Fidei puritate conservent, salvo jure Domini Principalis: dummodo super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum, nec aliquod impedimentum opponat: Eâdem nihilominus lege servatâ circa eos qui non habent Dominos Principales.*] Hitherto exactly the Latin and Original Language of that Council and Canon, without a word, or Syllable or Letter chang'd, added or substracted. Which in English is no less exactly without Addition or Diminution thus. [*Let the secular Magistrates* ( for that must be in English the meaning of the Latin words, [*potestates seculares* ] here, as shall be seen hereafter ) of what Office soever, be admonish't, and induc't, and, if necessary, be forced by Ecclesiastical Censure, even as they desire to be reputed and held Faithful,

Faithful, to take publicly an Oath, that they will be-  
na fide to the utmost of their Power, Study to Exter-  
minate out of all Lands subject to their Jurisdiction, U-  
niversally all sorts of Hereticks, noted for such by the  
Church. So that, from henceforth whensoever any  
shall be assum'd to any Power, perpetual or Temporary,  
he shall be bound to satisfy this Constitution. But if a  
Temporal Lord, requir'd and admonisht by the Church,  
shall neglect to Purge his Land from this Heretical Fil-  
thiness, let him be Excommunicated by the Metropoli-  
tan and Comprovincial Bishops. And, if he Contemn  
to satisfy within a Year, let this be signify'd to the Pope,  
that he may declare his Vassals from thenceforth absol-  
ved from their Allegiance to him, and expose his Land  
to be Occupy'd by Catholicks; who, exterminating the  
Hereticks, may without any Contradiction possess it,  
and preserve it in the purity of Faith, saving the Right  
of the Principal Lord; provided he put no Obstacle nor  
oppose any hindrance to this matter; the same Law be-  
ing nevertheless observ'd towards them who have no  
Principal Lords.]

And now, my Lord, having so laid before  
the Reader that whole intire part of this *Lateran*  
Canon, whereof the Controversy is, I must in  
the Second place here, take notice of three con-  
siderable Instances of extraordinary Art in your  
Lordships management of this Canon. First,  
you forestall your Readers Judgement by tel-  
ling him (tho' against all Truth, or the Verity  
of things in themselves) that in the Great *Lateran*  
Council [it was Synodically and Categorically conclu-  
ded that the Pope might depose Kings, absolve their  
Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and give away  
their Kingdom.] (2.) Least the Latin Original  
Language

Language of the Text of the Canon which you pretended to prove this, should make him fault-ter in his believing you thoroughly, you wholly omitted to give it, save only here and there in your Margents, some few unmaterial words. (3.) And, which is yet more inexcusable, instead of a right Translation of it in *English*, you gave him a meer *Sham* one, full of interpolations and insertions of your own from first to last. You gave him *Potestates seculares*, twice; *Dominus Temporalis*, eight times; *Dominus principalis*, seven times; and *Terram*, twice or thrice, falsely render'd in English: And instead of *Secular Magistrates* (or at least *Secular Powers*) which should be the English Translation of the First; and for *Temporal Lord*, the English of the Second, you gave your Reader *Kings and Princes*; for *Principal Lord*, the English of the Third, you render *Supreme Lord* every where; and the word *Land*, the English of *Terra*, you turn to *Kingdom*. And, at this rate you proceed for several Pages (that is from page 42. to 51.) Translating, and Summing, and Paraphrasing, and Interpolating that one poor harmless Canon: especially as to those words, *Secular Magistrates* (or *Powers* if you please) *Temporal Lord*, *Principal Lord*, and *Land*; the only words of it which Contentious interested High-flown Men of the Roman Church her self, *Perron* and *Bellarmino* and *Lessius*, and others even of late after them, tho certainly without any just cause or ground, have before your Lordshp vexed and render'd Obnoxious to Cavil. And which yet is observable is, that still you render your own corrupt Translation,

and

and Interpolation of them in *Italick*; undoubtedly on purpose to make your Reader mark 'em as not only the most material to your intent, but the most precisely answering the Latin Original Text. However 'tis plain you have given your Readers a Canon of your own Composition instead of the Third of *Lateran* which you pretended to give 'em. I am sure your Translation of it does in express Terms import thus much; *viz.* that all, even Sovereign and Supreme, Lords, Princes, and Kings whatsoever, at the time of their Inauguration, or Succession, or Admission to the Royal Dignity shall Swear to Exterminate all Hereticks out of their Kingdoms, and that, if being requir'd by the Metropolitan and Comprovincial Bishops to do so, they neglect it, &c. the Pope at last being admonish'd of their Contumacy shall depose them, absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, and give their Kingdoms to Catholics. And, therefore, I am certain your Lordship has given a Supposititious Canon of your own instead of that of *Lateran*. And, so, I am no less certain that any Reader that compares this Translation of yours with the true Original Latin Text, or true *English* Translation thereof, will judge: Because there is not a word of *King, Prince, Supreme Lord, or Kingdom* in either; and your pretended Translation is full of them every one, over and over again to the very end. Tho, after all, or did we grant all these Interpolations or Insertions of yours as right every where, 'twould avail you nothing as to the support or defence of your main Assertion here,  
That



That in the Great Lateran Council it was Synodically and Categorically concluded that the Pope might depose Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, and give away their Kingdoms. For still your own Translation and Mis-representation of the Canon, how bad or false soever, infers not even virtually or consequentially ought else or any more than that the Practice of the Doctrine of deposing Kings was here Tacitly either enjoyn'd or permitted, and consequently suppos'd allowable; not that the *Quaestio Juris*, the Question of Right it self (viz. whether the Pope, or Council, or Church, as such, had really from God or Man, by Divine or Human Law any such Power as might depose Kings) was either Synodically or Categorically debated, much less defin'd, or (which in effect is the same thing) Concluded. And all Men know that the Practice of any Doctrine, whether permitted or enjoyn'd, or but Tacitly suppos'd as allowable, by a Canon of Discipline, and the Theory or Speculative Consideration and Definition of it, are as wide from one another, as the Poles of the World; and that the latter cannot belong to a Canon of Discipline, as such. And all Men too that please to read your Book may see that even by your own very Mis-representation of this Canon, it still remains in the nature only of a pure Canon of Discipline; because directing only to act or practices somewhat, without any mixture at all so much as of any Debate or Mention of that Question of Right, or any resolving or enquiring whether or by what Right such a Practice might be directed. And, whether

whether they see this or no, I can confidently say for my self that there is no Negative of any matter of Fact I am surer of than that not only not that Council of *Lateran*, but no other Council whatsoever of all those that pretend to the Name of *Occumenical* ( nay or to that of *Regional* or *National* ) has at any time from the beginning to this present, either *Categorically* or *Synodically* concluded that *the Pope might depose Kings*, &c. And, so, were it necessary here I could farther say of my own like assurance, that neither so much as any one single even *Pope* has ever yet *Categorically*, either in formal or virtual Terms defined that *Question of Right*; no not *Boniface the VIII.* himself in his Decretal *Vnam Sanctam*. But your Lordship was it seems, right or wrong, resolv'd to possess the Fancy of your Readers with that Assertion laid down beforehand, as if it had been the substance of the following Canon. And you knew that if once the undiscerning part of them had in your Translation met with *Sovereign* and *Supreme Lords*, and *Kings* and *Princes* every where, their work would be done; because they could not discern betwixt a Canon of *Discipline* and one of *Speculative Decision*, or betwixt a *Rule* for *Practice* and the *Definition* of a *Theory* which antecedently must have been supposed true. And so indeed you attain'd your End hitherto among the undiscerning Multitude, tho not among the wise and Learned. *Frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum*. These could distinguish, and have distinguish't, between Varnish or Pretence, and Truth. And by a little enquiry they have found

found, as all others too may now in this Paper see, that neither *Kings*, nor *Princes*, nor any *Supreme Lords* at all, are so much as mention'd in that Canon it self, but only as you mis-represent it. And, therefore, they withal must see that your only Argument ( did you, as you do not, frame any ) derivable from that Canon, as in it's self, could in effect be no other than this which I Frame for you here, *viz.* That [ The Third Canon of the Fourth *Lateran* Council ordains that not only all secular Magistrates be bound to Swear to Exterminate to their Power all Hereticks out of the Lands of their respective Jurisdictions, but that if a *Temporal Lord* requir'd and admonish't to do so, neglect it. and contemn the Excommunication therẽfore fulminated against him by the Metropolitan, &c. upon notice thereof the Pope may declare his Vassals from thenceforth absolv'd of their Allegiance, and expose his Land to the Occupation of Catholics; saving still the Rights of the *Principal Lord*, in case there be any such Principal. *Ergo*, this Canon must be an undeniable Evidence that the Church of *Rome*, taken *pro famosiori significato*, or ( which is the same thing ) all the Churches and People of the Communion of *Rome*, where-ever in the World, either believe or at least approve of that *Seditious, impious and pernicious Doctrine* of the Papal deposing Power. ] Behold, at last, your *Achilles in Cuervo*. For without Contradiction this is all the Argument can possibly be deriv'd from that Canon. Now, altho to have expos'd it so truly and nakedly, is in my opinion to have before any indifferent Judicious Men, answer'd it fully; yet for the sake of others that are not peradventure so piercing, or quick, or Vers'd in such Matters, i'll give distinctly and enlarge a little on those Answers to it which the Canon it self on which 'tis grounded, does at least in part, implicitly hint. They are Two in all: but  
such

such two as do, even each of them apart, suppose that *Lateran Council General*, and that *Canon True*, and the Fathers to have assented to it; and, consequently, that it was not borrow'd from the imperial Constitution of *Frederick* the Emperor, published four Years after against all sorts of Hereticks; nor was the Conception neither of *Innocent* alone, nor of his Nephew *Gregory* the IX. who inserted it in his Decretals with many more of those 72. Chapters, and with this Lemma too prefixt to each of 'em, *Innocentius III in Concilio Generali*. For, albeit this very Lemma, besides twenty other Arguments, render it still at least very suspicious, I take no such advantage, nor any other whatever that questions the Verity of it as not consented to by the Fathers. To be short and clear;

The first Answer is that in this Canon there is nothing ordain'd against either *Princes, Kings* or any other *Supreme Temporal Power*: Nothing at all either formally, or virtually, or expressly, or Tacitly against any such Estates: (1.) Because there is no *Specific* mention of any such high Supereminent Dignities in it; as the Reader himself can see there is not. (2.) Because in Penal Constitutions, (and such a one is this of *Lateran*) wheresoever we find no *Specific* mention of them, there they are never comprehended under any *General* Names, Terms or notions that are common to others of lower degree; altho in favourable Constitutions, or such part of them as is favourable, it be otherwise. And therefore in this Canon they are not comprehended under the notions  
either



either of *Secular Magistrates*, or *Principal Lords*, or such (either) as have not any *Principal Lords*: Because all these are Generical Names or expressions common to many inferiour degrees of those who are not *Princes*, *Kings*, or any way *Supreme Lords*; but Subjects, even every sort of them, even those who have no *Principal Lords*; and Subjects, I say, if not as to their Dominion of *Property*, at least as to their Dominion of *Jurisdiction*: there being of this very last sort in *Italy* several, who are therefore said to have no *Principal Lords*; because altho, as to Dominion of *Jurisdiction* they acknowledge another truly *Supreme* over them; yet as to Dominion of *Property* in some Castles, Cities or Lands, they acknowledge none at all, nor depend of any as of a *Principal Lord* of the Fee: such their Property, as such precisely, being not held in Vassalage or Fee from any Mortal.

And for the first sort of all, viz. *Secular Powers*, that it is as common as any of the rest to all inferiour Magistrates, there is nothing can be clearer out of the Imperial Constitution of *Frederick the II. Parag. 5. and leg. Fide jussor. ff. de Pignoribus. and leg. Quicumq; Cod. de Executoribus*, and the Bulls of *Innocent the IV. Alexander the IV. and Clement the IV.* enjoyning all Magistrates and Officials, and among them the [ *Potestates Seculares* ] *Secular Powers* to Execute their Decrees; and yet very singularly out of the Gloss. in *cap. Sedes Apostolica. de Rescriptis. verb. Digniores*: where *Potestates Seculares* may be seen to be so common to very low Degrees, that it is but *quandoq;*, but sometimes they have so much

as any kind of Dignity annext to 'em. But I have said enough of the too too large extension of that and other *Generical* notions of that *Lateran Canon* to the very meanest of Powers.

What remains to be cleared, is that wherein the only main stress of this Answer lies: And therefore that where I said, *no Princes, no Kings, no Supreme Lords are understood in Penal Constitutions to be comprehended or meant by any of those Generical notions*, I now make it appear I said so neither without Book, nor sufficient Grounds. To discharge my self of this remaining Burthen, I'll refer your Lordship both to the Civil-Law and Canon-Law, and the Interpreters of both, the Civilians and Canonists; three sorts of the very best Proofs can be requir'd of me in this Matter. ( 1. ) To the *Civil Law*: because to out-present purpose of the *Lateran Canon* there can be nothing so proper as the very last imperial Constitution which closes up the Great Body of that very excellent and most Illustrious Law: The Constitution, I mean, of *Frederick the II.* set out by him against all Hereticks *Anno 1220.* that is, only five years after the Great Council of *Lateran* broke up of a suddain, and our controverted Canon is said to have been made. However, 'tis undoubtedly true, that, as the said Imperial Constitution was made by that Emperour for the same end this *Lateran Canon* had prefixt to it self, the destroying all Hereticks, and exposing their Lands to the Occupation of Catholics; so in the sixth and seventh Paragraph, it not only infers the whole substance of that Canon, ( tho' without mention thereof )

but makes use of it's very Words and Expressions, particularly of those [ *Potestates Seculares* ] *Secular Powers*, *Temporal Lord*, *Principal Lord*, and *such as have no Principal Lords*: and this all along without alteration or variation from that Canon, save only in the penalty of Excommunication chang'd into a Civil Punishment. Nor is it less manifestly clear that those general Expressions of *Secular Powers*, a *Temporal Lord*, &c. have in this Imperial Constitution their full meaning and signification, without comprehending either *Prince*, *King*, or any other *Supreme Lord*. For, it was only made for, as it was only directed to the *Marquises*, *Counts*, and all other People subject to the Empire; among whom there was neither *Prince*, nor *King*, nor any other *Supreme Lord* at all. And, therefore it must follow, that so they may, and so they must, in the *Lateran Canon* have. For the most diffusive extension of this Canon to other parts of Christendom can be no reason for altering the Legal Signification of the same words, or imagining any other of them, but only for applying them every where in the same Sense they are made use of within the Empire, by that Law which is the Standard of all both *Legal Words* and *Legal Sense* even to the Canons themselves. (2.) To the *Canon-Law*: And here I not only mean those two general famous and known Rules of it in *Sexto*, viz. [ *In penis benignior pars est eligenda; Et, odia restringi, favores convenit ampliari* ] that as to Penalties, the more benign Interpretation of the Law is to be chosen; and again, that the Rigid, or hateful Sense must be restrained,

and

and the favourable extended; but I farther, and very particularly, mean that express Constitution even of *Innocent the Third* himself; where he ordains, (*cap. Sedes Apostolica. de Rescriptis*) That, *wherever in his Commissions, lesser and lower Persons only are expressed, there, no other of greater and higher must be understood as meant by or comprehended under any general Expression.* For the same reason that is for his *Commissions* will hold also for his *Decrees.* (3.) To the Canonists and Civilians both. For their joyn't Doctrine may be read in *Felinus cap. ult. de Simonia.* Where out of them all, especially *Panormitanus, Innocentius, Joannes Andreas,* and the *Archdeacon*, he lays it down for a Rule that [*Quoties species addit aliquid Generi nunquam appellatione Generis venit Species.*] *Whensoever the specific Sense adds any thing to the Generical or Common, we must never understand it meant by or comprehended under that Common.* For example, not a *Priest* under the Name of a *Clerk*; nor an *Abbt* by that of a *Monk*; nor a *Bishop* by that neither of a *Priest*, because the specific Dignity of *Priest, Abbot* and *Bishop*, adds to the Generical Sense of *Clerk, Monk* and *Priest.* Whence it must be Consequential that, according also to that Rule and consent of *Lawyers*, neither *Prince, King*, or other *Supreme Lord*, can be in any Penal Law understood by the Generical notion either of *Secular Powers*, or *Temporal Lords*, or *Principal Lords*, or such either as have no *Principal Lords*; being they both specifically and mightily add to the Generical Sense of these.

As for *Divines* concurring to the same purpose, I shall content my self with *Andreas du Vallius*, a *Sorbon Doctor*, and in his time *Regius Professor*



of Divinity in that School. And on him, to give the Sense of all the rest, I pitch the rather, because he was the only eminent Man of that University, who, contrary to the ancient Custom thereof, has mightily (if not too much) favour'd both the Temporal Monarchy of the Pope over Kings and other Supreme Lords, and his Spiritual over the whole Church and it's Representative a General Council. Yet this very Man is he that in this matter delivers himself thus. [*Notum est, &c. 'Tis a known thing, says he, that in an odious matter, Bishops are not understood by the*

*In Disput. de Supremâ  
Rom. Pont. in Eccle-  
siâ Potestate. part. 2.  
q. 4. pag. 264.*

*name of Clerks, nor sometimes religious Men by the name of Monks, nor likewise Kings by the name of Lords, because of the Height and Majesty of their royal dignity, &c.*

Besides these Arguments from the Authority of the Laws and their Interpreters, to whom I refer your Lordship, who is it that consults Reason in the Case never so little, does not see how unlikely a thing it should be, that the Fathers or could, or would, or dared have meant others by those General words, than such as were not Supreme in any Sense, but properly Subordinate and Subject? For, as [beside *Vrspergensis*] the History of that Council assures us, there were present and assisting to it the Embassadors of all the Supreme Lords, Princes, Kings, Emperours of the whole Latin Church: particularly those of the Kings of England, France, Hungary, Arragon, Cyprus, Hierusalem; and of the two Emperours, *Baldwyn* Earl of Flanders, then Emperour of Constantinople, and *Frederick* King of Sicily,

*Sicily*, then Elect Emperour of *Rome*. And they were those that gave so great a Vogue and Authority to the Council. It was held also at a time when the Contest between the Papal Power of the Court of *Rome* on one side, and the Imperial Regal and Supreme Temporal on the other, was yet fresh in the Memory of all Men after the late Deposition of the Emperour *Otho* the IV. and cruel persecution of his immediate Predecessor *Philip* of *Suevia* by the same Pope *Innocent* the III. And yet we read not in History or elsewhere that any of all these Embassadors excepted against that very Canon. Tho reason must tell us they would not only have excepted but protested against it, if the Sense of it had been apprehended to have reach't their Lords to the degree of subjecting their very Crowns to the Popes disposal. Nay, they would have wholly hinder'd it from passing: the greatest part of the very Bishops themselves who composed that Council having been certainly, at least in such Temporal matters, so neerly and highly concerning the Crowns of their Sovereigns, to receive orders from them. But *Innocent* himself, who call'd them, was wiser than to try what their united force could do against him; on whose good Will he wholly depended, not only for the Executing but the very passing that and other Canons, even as he did for attaining any of the other ends pretended by him in calling that Council.

So that we see the Laws both Civil and Canon, and the Interpreters of them both Civilians and Canonists, and the Divines represented

ted by *Vallius*, and Reason it self grounded on the general silence of Historians and all others concern'd, are for this my first Answer to your Lordships first Argument from that *Lateran Canon*. An Answer that plainly shews your Lordship unjustly charges that Canon even with so much as the Supposition or Approbation of that *Doctrine* of the Papal Deposing Power as true; or of the *Practice* of it as allowable in reference to any Princes, Kings or Supreme Temporal Powers whatsoever.

I say your *First Argument*: For, I confess your Lordship perhaps foreseeing this Answer, has provided a Second Argument to charge that Canon still, at least with Errour and Mischief enough, tho' not directly so heynous or pernicious to Kings or Supreme Lords as that of your First and grand Attacque. Your own words giving it are these [But admit (which is evidently untrue) that the Canon meant only *Feudatary* and *Inferiour* Princes should be depos'd by the Pope: The *Mischief* and *Injustice is less* (as a *Subordinate* Prince is less than the Supreme) but *very great*, and (even upon this, *false Supposition*) this Power challenged by the Pope, (and approved by the *Lateran Canon* and *Council*) will be not only dangerous but pernicious to *Subordinate* and *Feudatary* Princes. This is too plain to need any farther proof.] And so indeed your Lordship says; and so you perswade your Reader, right or wrong, this Canon approves, at least for so much, the Papal Deposing Power. And, I confess that had it done so, (that is, for so much) it must have also by consequence approv'd it for all the rest. Which tho' it be more than you seem to pretend to by this **Reply or Second Argument**; yet because it is  
no

no more than naked Truth, I would acknowledge it here. Nor can I upon any account deny it. For nothing to me is more Evident than that the very Universal Church of Christ, as purely such, cannot pretend to any Right or Coactive Power to dispose of any Mans Temporals contrary to his own will; and, consequently, no more to depose *Feudataries* than Kings and other Supreme Lords.

Therefore what I must and ought to say in answer to this your Second objection and Argument is, that, as your Lordship has grounded your former on a false Representation both of the Words and meaning of 'em in that Canon; so you have this on as false a Supposition of the Authority by which ( nay and purpose, to which ) the Fathers enacted the Deposition of Inferiour Lords or Feudataries by the Pope. Briefly you supposed here; or at least made your Reader think you did, that the Fathers of that Council pretended to enact it by their own proper Episcopal, their own Supernatural Divine Power of the Keys, received immediately from Christ, and not by that Natural, Humane, Political power which had been either antecedently or actually given them by Secular Princes; or which, at least they hoped should be given them after by the general Consent and Ratihibition of all the Supreme Temporal States of the *Latin* Church, whose Embassadors were sent on purpose to Countenance their proceedings. But at the same time the Reverend Bishop of *Lincoln* either suppos'd or impos'd this on his Readers, it is not likely



at all that the most learned Doctor *Barlow* could be ignorant of the Doctrine of the Roman-Catholick Schoolmen themselves on this Subject. And, whether he could or no, this I can speak for certain, that particularly in *Almain*, and *Gerson*, and *Joannes Parisiensis*, three great famous Classick Divines, and in as many Classick Canonists too, *Hos-tiensis* and his Lord *Innocentius*, & *Glossa Joannis Tennonici*, more than once your Lordship might have read what certainly would have prevented this mistake of yours, if it was not designedly wilful.

(a) *Lib. de Dom. Naturali, Civil. & Eccles. in probatione 2. Conclusionis.*

You might have read, (1.)

in (a) *Almain* what the Generality of Roman-Catholick-Doctors teach, That Ecclesiastical Power, as purely such, cannot inflict any either Capital or Civil punishment whatsoever; such (for Example) as Death, Banishment, Confiscation of Goods, Imprisonment, &c. but is wholly confin'd to Spiritual Punishments only, whereof Excommunication is the highest: and that for other Punishments it makes use of them only by virtue of the Positive Laws of Man. (2.) In *Gerson*, [ *De Ecclesie Confid.* 4. ] that these Positive Laws of Man are the meer Concessions of the Supreme Temporal Princes, Emperours, Kings, and States. (3.) In *Joannes Parisiensis*, [ *Tractat. de Potest. Regia & Papali.* ] to the same purpose, that when Popes and Councils ordain other Punishments than belong to their Jurisdiction, they do it either by express or Tacit permission and Authority of Princes, who by themselves or Embassadours are present; or certainly do it

out

out of their presumed and hop't for Ratihabition to follow. ( 4. ) In *Hoftiensis*; where commenting on *cap. Abolendum. extr. de Hæreticis*, a Papal Canon which Confiscates the Goods of Hereticks, and putting this Question, *what has the Pope to do with Temporals*? he answers after his Lord *Innocentius*, that indeed he had nothing at all by his own Right, but only by the right and Authority of the Emperour, who being then present at *Padua*, consented. ( 5. ) In the Gloss of *Joannes Teutonicus* in *cap. Adrianus. dist. 63.* where, by occasion of the Popes commanding to Confiscate their Goods who violate his Decree; and in *cap. Delatori. 5. q. 6.* considering another severe command of the Pope, that *false Accusers* should either have their Tongues cut out, or being Convicted, their Heads Cut off; he answers, that in these Decrees the Church does only teach what the Secular Judge or Magistrate ought to do. Which answer of his may be accommodated to all other the like Decrees of the Church wherein Corporal, Temporal, or Civil punishments are inflicted. ( 6. ) And lastly, in all the Councils of *Toledo* save only the First, and in those also of *Tours*, *Cablon* and *Mentz*, under *Charles* the Great, and that other of *Mentz* under *Leo IV.* as well as in the very first Seven General Councils themselves held in *Greece*, you might have read the consent of the respective Princes that call'd them, and their Ratihabition of their Canons clearly enough exprest.

All which if your Lordship had well consider'd, nay had you wholly abstracted from all those Councils, and only consider'd what

we have before them seen, those Classical Schoolmen, both Divines and Canonists, of the Roman Communion teach; and, if withal you had meant to deal fairly and justly with your Readers, certainly, you had not here led 'em in the dark: You had not against that *Lateran Canon* erected a second Battery upon so false (tho' but only Tacit) a supposition; as if the Fathers had therein Decree'd or pretended to decree by their own sole, pure Episcopal Authority, *The deposition of Feudataries by the Pope* without any Consent or Concurrence of the *Supreme Temporal Lords*.

But then, if your Lordship had a little farther consider'd the Circumstances of that time throughout the *Latin Church*; ( 1. ) The general disposition of all, both Princes and People, in the West, to engage in a Holy War against the Infidels in the East for defence of *Hierusalem* and the Christian Kingdom there; even the Emperour *Frederick* himself ( besides other Kings and Princes ) having to that purpose taken on him the Cross, and solemnly Vow'd to Head the Expedition thither with all his might. ( 2. ) The great and known necessity of suppressing first at home in *Europe* those manifold Swarms of new Hereticks daily appearing and spreading far and near in *Italy, Germany, and France*; the *Albigenses*, and *Gazari* and *Patareni*, and *Lenonistæ*, and *Speronistæ*, and *Arnaldistæ*, and *Circumcisi*, as they are by their several Names proscribed in the Imperial Constitution against them. [ *Inter Constitutiones Frederici 2.* ] ( 3. ) The great advantage that from their Suppression and Confiscation

cation of their Estates and goods must have accru'd, and accordingly did accrue presently to the Supreme Temporal Lords themselves, especially the Emperour and King of *France*; whereof, as to *France*, the Union of the County of *Tholouse* to that Crown ever since, must be a remarkable instance. Had your Lordship, I say, but only consider'd those few Circumstances among many other at that time, in which this *Lateran* Canon is said to have been made; I should have judg'd it very much against reason it self, to think you would have so much as supposed (tho' but tacitly) that the Fathers had not had to that very Judicial Canon the full consent, Approbation and Ratihabition of all the Supreme Temporal Princes of their Church, or that by their own proper Episcopal Authority as deriv'd from Christ, or the Keys, and not by that of the Supreme Temporal Princes as delegated to or concurring with them, they had ordain'd the Deposition of *Fendataries* by the Pope. Which if I have any light of reason to see through, is enough both to satisfy your second little Argument, and end with all the whole of my first Answer to all your Allegations from this *Lateran* Canon.

The second Answer is, that, supposing I admitted not only that the Fathers had by their own sole Authority, without any relation to the consent of the Supreme Temporal Princes, ordain'd the Deposition of *Fendataries* by the Pope; but also that all Princes, Kings and other Temporal Lords had been comprehended by them under those common Titles of *Secular*  
*Powers*



*Princes, Temporal Lords, Principal Lords, and such as have no Principal Lord; yet in this very case that Canon neither would nor could be pretended to be any other than a meer Canon of Discipline.* And this is the Answer, that, without any farther Illustration, strikes all your Arguments dead, and throws down your whole Fabrick with one Breath. Which because I have before, as to the grounds of it, evinced in my Answers to your sixth Supposition, I forbear repeating the same things here. Only in short I'll mind you of the Trent-Reformation Canons rejected, and the Doctrine of all the Roman Catholicks Schools, requiring not only Promulgation, nor only Reception, but a Continuation too of the Authority and Sense of all Canons of Discipline, where they have been once receiv'd; or (which is the same thing) that they be not at first rejected by the particular Churches, nor Princes, nor People; nor after at any time cease by disuse, much less by contrary Declarations that destroy them; And then farther mind you of that unalterable Rule, *Per quasque causas aliquid constituitur, per easdem dissolvitur.* And, therefore, as Reception is that which gives such Canons a binding Power any where in the World: so Rejection must every where both prevent and dissolve it. Lastly, I must mind you of the Kingdom and Church, and three Catholick Monarchs of France in a Succession these hundred years, even quite contrary to that Canon as you would have it understood, protecting by very Law the *Hugonots* of France: to say nothing of Poland, and some

some Cantons of *Switzerland*; nor any thing neither of so many Protestant Imperial Cities of the Empire protected by the Emperour. And yet their learned Men knew what the import and force of this *Lateran* Canon is. Which is the reason that to end all this Dispute, I might say with the Oratour, *Quid verba audio, cum facta video?* To what purpose vain Words, to what purpose a doubtful, obscure, insignificant Canon at best, against undoubted clear, unanswerable Demonstrations of matter of *Fact* throughout the Catholick World abroad. Nor will I add any more on this Subject, save only that I hope by this time the Judicious Reader will bear me witness, that before any indifferent learned Judge, I might in three Lines only have dispatch't my Answers to this great, and last, and strongest Attacque of yours from the *Lateran* Canon. I might do it by saying ( 1. ) That there is not a word in that Canon against either *Prince*, or *King*, or any *Supreme Lord* whatsoever. ( 2. ) That the Fathers in ordering the Pope to depose Feudataries, rely'd on the Authority of the *Supreme Temporal* Lords of the Fee, not on their own Ecclesiastical, as purely such. ( 3. ) That, after all, 'tis but a Canon of *Discipline*. Which is the Summ of all alledg'd hitherto in both my Answers, tho so diffusely given by me out of pure respect to your Lordship's great pains in manageing this great Argument whereon your whole Book relies.

Indeed were I concerned here, against the Learned Author of the \*  
*Considerations of present Con-* Printed for B. Tooke,  
*cernment,* An. Dom. 1675.

cernment, &c. where ( so long since as the year 1675. in his manageing against the *Irish Remonstrance* and *English Controversial Letters*, the Argument deriv'd by him partly from that *Lateran* Canon of *Innocent* the III. insisted on by your Lordship, and partly too from a former of *Alexander* the III. being the 27th. Canon of the third *Lateran* Council, which you have not quoted, as also partly from the Sentential deposition of *Frederick* the II. by *Innocent* the IV. in the first Council of *Lyons* ) he may peradventure be thought by his Readers to have before hand, if not clearly prevented, at least mightily perplext and obscur'd the Evidence of those foresaid Answers of mine to your Lordship. Or (which in effect is the same thing ) did I think my self any way oblig'd in this place to clear those manifold imaginary Scruples, which at first rais'd and then deduct by him in so many long Discourses of that Book ( from pag. 157. to pag. 329. ) how ingenious or acute soever they may seem, are nevertheless in reality more able to mis-lead undiscerning readers into a wood or a Fog, than lead any to the open light of Truth. I say, that were I so concern'd, or did I think my self so oblig'd here, then certainly I could and would unto the said Answers of mine to your Lordship have added farther yet, even for that Learned Considerers own peculiar sake, a few Animadversions more on what he says that may relate to this place, or strengthen your Lordships Attacque, or weaken my defence in any sort. Whereof,

The First Animadversion should be, that  
altho

altho' he positively says (pag. 160.) It cannot with any Probability be thought that Sovereign Princes were not designedly included. viz. by the Third Council of *Lateran* in the general or common Terms of *cap. non minus.* and *cap. Sicut.* the 19. and 27 Chapters of that Council under *Alexander* the III. And that, consequently, did he think it needful, he would have no less positively said, and repeated the very same, of the Third Canon of the fourth *Lateran* under *Innocent* the III. yet after all he proves it so extream weakly, that, if I see any thing, he requires no other kind of reply than to call to his remembrance now what his reasons were then. To wit [ That nothing can be more Authentick Expositions of those Canons than the Practice of the Chief Legislators of them, the said *Alexander* and *Innocent*. That the former had Sententially depos'd the Great Emperour *Frederick* the First Surnamed *Barbarossa*, and threaten'd too with Deposition our two English Kings, *Henry* the Father and his young Son. That the latter, that is *Innocent* the III. had likewise, not only with Excommunication and farther means, cruelly pursu'd, even till Death, the Emperour *Philip*; but even actually by a formal Sentence, as much as lay in him, depos'd his immediate Successour *Otho*. That none can think those Popes did *Scruple* the including Sovereigns in their said respective Canons. That neither those Bishops who joyn'd with them in that Age, wherein parties were so evidently made in that Controversy, can be thought to have meant otherwise than the Popes themselves did, especially considering that tho' Councils joyn with the Popes in the making of Canons, yet by the Constitution of that Church, the Pope alone is the Executioner and Authentick Expofitor of them, as they were to be reduc'd to Practice. Finally, these things being supposed, those two Councils of *Lateran* had the clearest Evidence and the most momentous necessity, obliging them to have made a particular Exception of Sovereign Princes, if they had intended any, so that their actual Omission of it, must be the most probable Presumption of their



their Concurrence. ] viz. with those Popes in their not *Scruling* to include all Sovereign Princes in the foresaid Canons.

Which being the substance of all whatever is allegd'd by that learned Author to prove his said Assertion, I leave it now to his own candid Soul to consider what on Reflexion, at this distance of time, he really thinks any Judicious knowing either Canonist or Divine, or indeed any other unbyast Man of Reason, will judge of that Discourse of his. That is, whether any of 'em can judge it in any manner sufficient to infer his Point, viz. That, *it cannot with any probability be thought that Sovereign Princes were not designedly included, &c.* I am sure the Premises are partly forreign, partly equivocal, yea, partly precarious, and false to boot in any true Sense they can have relating to his Conclusion. For, certainly, nothing could be more forreign to it than to alledge the Practices of those two Popes against those Emperours before any of those Canons were made: Or, than to *Que're*, whether those Popes *did Scruple the including Sovereigns in their said Canons*; Or, yet, to ask *whether the Bishops that joyn'd with those Popes in that Age meant any otherwise than the Popes themselves did.* Nothing more Equivocal, or more imposing on the unwary Reader, than his demanding, *What can be a more Authentick Exposition of the Law, than the Practice of the Principal Legislators?* As if the Popes had been Legislators of those very Canons then, when as yet the Canons had not been made. Nothing more precarious, nay, false, than that by the Constitutions of the Roman

man Catholick Church, only the Pope in the Intervals of Councils is the Executor and Authentick Expofitor of all Conciliary Canons. Nor any thing neither more manifefly either vain or untrue, than that thole two Councils of *Lateran* had the cleareſt Evidence and the moſt momentous neceſſity, obliging them to have made a more particular exception of Sovereign Princes than they really did. Laſtly, (and which undoubtedly muſt be a farther conſequence) nothing imaginable could have leſs affinity to any likelihood of truth than what he adds in the laſt place: *That their actual omiſſion of it muſt be the moſt probable preſumption of their concurrence.*

To give my reaſons in ſhort, I ſay, 1. That the learned Conſiderer ſhould have produc'd at leaſt ſo much as one practical inſtance of either Pope or Council depoſing any Sovereign Prince, not only after the ſaid Canons were made, but expreſly by virtue of, or as expreſly relying or inſiſting on them. And, ſince he has not done ſo. his Appeal to the Practice of the Principal Legiſlators, as to an *Authentick Expofition of the Law* is both equivocal, vain, and to no other end here but to impoſe on the Reader. 2. That, where the Diſpute concerning what thoſe two Popes would or *did ſcruple* in that matter; and not concerning the Legal or Canonical meaning of their two whole foreſaid Councils in thoſe words they thought fit to deliver thoſe Canons in, I ſhould not ſcruple to admit of his former *Quere* as not wholly impertinent. But ſeeing it is not concerning any ſuch ſcruple, I muſt conceive he amuſes his

Reader with that scrupulous *Quere* to no purpose at all. Doubtless, to prove the Legal or true sence of any Conciliary Canon to the passing of which so many hundred Bishops and others must concur, it can be no concluding medium to *Quere* whether a high-flown Pope would or *did scruple* to pass it, if he could, in his own peculiar sence, or according to the particular inclination of his own private Caball and other interess'd Friends. (3.) That as to his next *Quere*, I see no other sence it has, or can make, than whether the Bishops that really were for those Popes in all their Usurpations, were really so for them. And, if this be all the meaning of this doughty *Quere*, as truly it must be of the words of it, then surely he'll shew himself a froward ill natur'd man that will not answer it affirmatively, by granting an identical Proposition to be true, or that those Bishops that were for those Popes were for those Popes. But then, how will all the rest of the *European* Bishops of quite different both Principles and Interests, who sate in those Councils, even the Bishops that all along and in plain contradiction to those very Popes, manifestly adhered to their Deposed or otherwise injur'd or threaten'd *Sovereigns*, how can they, I say, come under the notion of those that were for the Popes? And, if they do not, as 'tis manifest they do not, then plainly this other *Quere* too signifies nothing here. (4.) That had our Learned Considerer but a little reflected either on the Canon *Frequens* of the General Synod of *Constance*, or on the Appeal of *Joannes Semeca Teutonicus*

*Teutonicus* from the Pope *Clement IV.* in the year 1268. and so many other frequent Appeals (after his Example) by others from several other Popes to a future General Council, in all Ages, even to the very last, he would have been more wary than to obtrude upon us for Proof, the Popes being the only Executer and authentick Expositor of the Canons, so much as in the intervals of Councils. As if indeed, so much as in those intervals the Diffusive *Roman*-Catholick Church, or the National Churches of that Communion did effectually submit, or hold themselves bound by any Essential or true Constitutions of their Catholick Body, to submit in all cases to the arbitrary expositions and executions of the *Roman* Court. ( 5. ) That so vain a supposal being thus laid by as groundless; it follows that his whole Fabrick [ *The clearest Evidence and most momentous necessity, and their actual omission, and the most probable presumption* ] built upon it, falls presently down, and turns to nothing. Besides, it cannot be with any colour of Reason pretended, that in the year 1179, and 1215, being years of Peace throughout *Europe*, those numerous Councils of Bishops, conven'd together from all parts of the whole *Western* or *Latin* Church, as the very Flower of it, could on the occasion offer'd think themselves so unconcern'd as not to call to remembrance neither the late miseries of their own days, nor the former frequent devastations, continual ruin, and almost utter bane of Christendome, proceeding from the *Roman* Court's un-apostolical endeavours to



usurp totally the very essential Rights of *Sovereign* Princes ever since the first attempt by *Gregory VII.* And, therefore, I for my part am persuaded that all judicious unbiass'd Considerers will turn that learned man's either arguments or expressions here against himself; and conclude with me that, undoubtedly, those Councils had *the clearest Evidence and the most momentous necessity obliging them*, not only not to have made any particular express exception of *Sovereign Princes* (for even such an *Exception* would be injurious to Princes, as tacitly implying that the Bishops might include them if they pleas'd) but to have made neither particular, nor general, express nor tacit, formal nor virtual, so much as mention, much less comprehension or inclusion of them; and, consequently, to have fram'd those Canons, as they really and prudently did, in such words as, according to the Legal and usual import of them, and understanding of mankind in such matters and circumstances, could not mean any *Sovereign Princes* at all. And so I must be persuaded too that all such Considerers will for the same reasons, turn his farther consequential or final expressions here, (*viz.*) [*their actual omission, and the most probable presumption*] quite against himself, because directly against the Use he intended them for: which was to prove his foresaid assumption against the *Controversial Letters*. But, seeing I have by this time laid open sufficiently the weakness of all he says to that purpose, or (which is the same thing) to prove *It cannot with any Probability be thought that Sovereign Princes*

*were*

were not *designedly included*: I think I may now, with some assurance end this first of my Animadversions on him, as having therein by manifest consequence no less sufficiently maintain'd, that my own First Answer to your Lordship is no way shaken yet; not even by any of that very learned Author's imaginary Scruples here.

The Second Animadversion. (1.) That, however, to destroy the Second Answer of the *Controversial Letters*, and by consequence my Second Principal Answer to your Lordship here, viz. *those Lateran Canons being only Canons of Discipline, and therefore not obliging the National Churches but as received by them*, our learned Considerer advances two Assertions more: The one, that *the Distinction of being obliged by the Decrees of Councils in matters of Faith, but not in matters of Practice (or Discipline) is in it self Irrational and Incongruous to their other Principles*. The other, that *tho' it were more true or consistent with their other Tenets, yet it cannot serve their purpose to excuse them from the Obligation of this Council in this Doctrine of Deposition*. I must, notwithstanding look upon both, and all their Proofs (none excepted) as in reality very false. (2.) That even such, I doubt not, his very notions here of *the Judge of Controversy*, and the *Body Politick* of the Church, and the *Conditions of Vnity or Peace*, and the *absolute Authority of Governours*, and the *blind Obedience of Subjects*, or (which is the same thing) the *no liberty not even of Discretionary Judgment* remaining in or left, so much as to the National Churches, to judge or consider of any Injunctions of Superi-

ours; and whatever else he has fancy'd to himself as Principles of the Roman-Catholick-Church, to Ground those Paradoxes on, must certainly appear to any judicious unbiass'd Reader of my Answer to your Lordships Ten Suppositions, given before, *Section 15, 16, 7. and 18.* at large. (3.) That the only probable thing that he speaks for the former of those two Assertions, is delivered by him *pag 186.* in these words [ For if they think that Authority in Superiours be preserv'd, notwithstanding that Subjects reserve to themselves a Liberty of judging their Decrees, and determining according as the Evidence shall appear to themselves, why do they complain that we Violate *Authority* whilst we plead this Liberty? Or, if this Liberty be not consistent with such a deference to *Authority* as *Subjects* are oblig'd to have, why do they plead it themselves, where they pretend to acknowledge an *Authority*, as they do in *General Councils*, even in affairs relating to Practice? ] And this Interrogative passage of his I the rather observe, because he not only repeats it again very often throughout his forelaid long Discourses, but, because indeed it seems to be the only chief Design of it. But, after all, 'tis easily answer'd, that the great Body of the diffusive Roman Catholick-Church (what some particular Opinialstres hold, I am not concern'd for) does not complain of the Church of *England's* violating Authority by her pleading that *Liberty*, but of her destroying the necessary Fence of Faith, by declining the Rules of old Tradition, and countenancing new Interpretations of Scripture against it. (4.) That, surely, as we know the distinction between these two sorts of Decrees (or those of *Discipline* and those of *Faith*) has been as Ancient as the very first Council

Council of *Nice*, and before it too ; so withal we know the ancient Church of *Rome*, even thirteen hundred years since, did not think it either *Irrational* or *Inconsistent* with the Principles of the Catholick Church, to sleight a Canon of Discipline ( I mean the Fifth ) made in the very second General Council, held at *Constantinople* under *Theodosius* the Elder ; nay we know that so she did soon after, not only sleight, but absolutely, stiffly and utterly reject the 28 and several other Disciplinary Canons of the fourth General, or Great *Chalcedonian* Council, held under *Martinus* and *Pulcheria* after *Theodosius* the younger's Death. To say nothing now of those hundred and two Disciplinary Canons of the General Synod of *Trullo* ( which goes by the Name of *Quina-sexta Synodus* ) held under *Justinian* the younger ; of which the *Roman* Church has rejected

\* eight or nine at least, even all along to this very day. And yet all Men know, She has, ever since they were

\* viz. the 7. 13. 35. 52. 55. 59. 67. 72. and last of all the 90.

made, both continually and perfectly embraced, submitted to and profest whatever is contain'd in the Canons or *Declarations of Faith*, of those Councils. ( 5. ) That not only *St. Paul* the Apostle ( *Heb. 11. 6.* telling us plainly, that *without Faith 'tis impossible to please God* ; nor only the Evangelist *Matthew* in the last Chapter of his Gospel, the last Verse, declaring too the great Commission of the Apostles was, and, consequently, of their Successours is, to Preach that Faith to all Men, teaching them to keep all what-



soever was commanded by our Lord; but Religion and Reason both assuring us, that without so much as any thought or knowledge, or the being or existence of many hundred Arbitrary Canons of Ecclesiastical Discipline, 'tis possible to please God, and observe all that he commanded the Apostles to bid the Faithful keep: It can neither be *Irrational in it self, nor incongruous or inconsistent with the other Principles of the Roman-Catholick Church*, either to *distinguish* her Canons into those of *Faith*, obliging all her Sons absolutely and independently for ever, when nothing appears in them against the *Faith, once deliver'd to the Saints*; and those of *Discipline*, obliging only conditionally such National Churches as receive them, or to set a greater value on the former than on the latter. She knows of the latter, what is plain to every Man, that they needed not that Circumspection in their Frame, or Make, which the former did; seeing they are not of eternal Truth, but changeable, and wholly depend on the Arbitrary will of the makers or continuers; and for their making require no other than some seeming or probable Grounds at best; and consequently are such as apply'd to many Circumstances of Time, and Place, and Persons, may prove either impracticable, or intolerable, if not Sinful, destructive and pernicious too. And so she does, in reference to the former, manifestly see, that altho', in matters of *Faith*, things are true or false Antecedently to the Definition of a Council; yet, because not seldom it happens, that thousands, nay millions of her Children

know,

know not which, and yet the importance of them is very great, and the Contests about them very dangerous; as it can be no less than her Obligation In such cases, to *declare* the Truth sueven by a ll Representative of her, when a less cannot sufficiently do it; so there must be an answerable Tye on her Children to submit to her Authority in so much, if, or whensoever they have not a clear manifest evidence that she misleads 'em; tho' at the same time they may be perfectly free to conform to their National respective Churches in rejecting the Arbitrary Impositions even of such a Representative in other things. ( 6. ) That if this learned Author did but consider a little the vast extensions both for Places and Persons, of the Churches which are said to be represented in a General Council; how few respectively the Members are which assemble; how vainly he fancies what Commissions he pleases to be given them by their Principals; how he thinks not once on the tacit Essential reserve that every such Commission, whatever it be in words, must have in Sense; how seldom or never is one word known before hand in the several Nations that depute them, what the Canons at least of *Discipline* to be propos'd may be; even the Questions about Faith it self to be agitated, scarce, if ever since the first Council of *Ephesus* being sent beforehand to the National Churches to be consulted on. Besides, how one only Vote above the precise Majority or precise one half of the Council (tho against all reason ) determines of those very *Disciplinary* Canons themselves; or, had he farther consider'd

consider'd that even many things left free by the Law of God, tho' tending certainly to greater perfection and holiness of Life, cannot according either to any reason, or any Principles of the Roman-Catholick-Church her self, oblige the National Churches without their own exprels Ratihabition or Concurrence, tho a General Council should enjoyn them never so Universally, clearly and strictly to all the Faithful: For example, ( 1. ) That all Ecclesiasticks, all Bishops, Priests and other Clerks, should absolutely quit all their Tythes, Glebes, Lands, Houses, and other Temporal Rights and Revenues whatsoever, and reduce themselves to the Primitive Power of the Apostles whose Successours they are, and preach the Gospel and minister the Sacraments *gratis*, relying only for their maintenance on the free Benevolence of their respective Flocks. ( 2. ) That the Laity should yearly give the Poor one entire Moyity of all their Profits and Revenues for ever, at least when or where the other half may be sufficient to maintain their own proper charge in a modest humble Christian way. I say, had our learned Author seriously consider'd all these matters, as also that undoubtedly all the National Churches of the Roman Communion perfectly knew them all, nay many more that might be added here to the same purpose; I must think so well of him, that surely he would not so Peremptorily pronounce the foresaid distinction of *Canons* to be either *Irrational in it self*, or *Incongruous to their other Principles*: Nor would he say ( as he does pag. 188. ) That *matters of Pra-*

*ctice*

*Etice* (*viz.* enjoyn'd by Superiours ) *less admit of any enquiry into the merit of the thing, or of any Appeal to any whatsoever Superiour Power, even of God himself.* So much on the former of his Assertions here.

Third Animadversion. That, concerning the later of these two Assertions, what I would remark is, ( 1. ) That our learned Author (p. 199.) where he repeats it again as pretending to prove it, has, tho' not so clearly and expressly in words, yet in substance sufficiently declar'd his meaning to be, that the *Lateran* controverted Canon of *Innocent the III.* however in formal Terms enjoyn-ing only matter of *Practice*, does nevertheless in the Sense of it include a *Virtual Definition* of the controverted matter of *Faith*; that is, of the very Question of *Right* about the *Depositing Power*. ( 2. ) That he gives no other Proof for it or this meaning of it than only what these bare words of his own import, *viz.* *In as much as it cannot be presum'd that the Council could command the Deposition of Princes if they had not themselves thought Deposition lawful (unless we can suppose them so absurd as to define a thing Synodically, which themselves would not undertake to justify) or impose their commands of Deposition on others, unless they had been willing that others should believe it too.* ( 3. ) That to pass over now both his improper use of the Term [ *Define* ] ( instead of the proper Term [ *Decree* ] enjoyn or command ) in this place, and his divining what the Council themselves thought, &c. or were willing others should believe of it; nay to pass over his supposing too the Council commands the Deposition of Princes: I would only ask him where's his Proof that the Council could not justify this Canon



Canon either by the exprefs or tacit Consent, or at least presumed or hop'd-for Ratihabition of the Supreme Lay-Powers themselves, and not by any kind of Spiritual Power of their own deriv'd to them from the Keys? And if they could do so ( as we have seen elsewhere in this Treatise ) that others might certainly and rationally do it for them, even relying on the the Authority of the very Canonists themselves, (whose Interpretation of the Canons our Author himself seems so much to value, *pag.* 205. 209. 267. and in several others of his long Discourse) then I demand of him, what would his Second Assertion, or his Explication of it, and his precarious weakly Assumption here to prove it, signify to conclude a deposing purely-Church-Power ( as Authoriz'd by or deriv'd only from the Keys) to have been own'd by that Council? Or a *Virtual* Definition of such a deposing Power to be included in that Canon? Or that Roman-Catholicks *cannot excuse themselves from believing* that very controverted purely-Spiritual Power of Deposing Princes *to have been defin'd in this Council?* I am sure that neither his Assertion nor Explication, nor Assumption, nor all three together can signify any thing to conclude any of these matters against such a Defence made for that Council or Canon. ( 4. ) That did I, as for *the present* I do, freely grant him, the Fathers had even so inwardly *thought*, as he presumes they did, nay that even such their inward *thought* or inward Opinion of the Deposing Power to belong to the Church as purely a Church, Authoriz'd only by the Keys, had had the Sole influence

fluence on them in their passing that Canon: I see not, after all, how his Assertion, or Explanation of it can be true, or his *Virtual Definition* follow. Certainly this learned Author, who all along perpetually pretends to insist on the Principles of the Roman-Catholick-Church her self, and her Schools, and her Doctors, cannot alledge the least colour of a Principle of theirs to prove that a Canon of meer *Discipline*, or meer matter of changeable *Arbitrary Practice*, must be a *Virtual Definition*, or (which is the same thing) a final Determination of the controverted matter of *Faith*, which it relates unto: Nay, certainly nothing can be more apparent than that both the Principles and Practices of that Church, and her Schools and Doctors, yea and all her People too, are as contrary to him in this point as contrariety it self can be.

Witness first, those manifold Constitutions of *Sixtus IV. Pius V. Paulus V. and Gregory XV.* issued by them in the famous Contest, which still had been carri'd on with so much heat, Animosity, Scandal, on both sides, well nigh 300 years, about the Blessed Virgin Mary's *Immaculate Conception*; that is, about her being Conceived without Original Sin, and being preserv'd from it even in the very first instant of her Life. A Contest which had all the *Dominican* Schools and their partakers, on one side; and all the *Franciscan* Schools and their abettors on the other: and those even publicly Teaching, Writing. Preaching against these; nay condemning them for Hereticks and guilty of Mortal Sin; as in like manner these declaiming against those no less, nor

as better, and the Universities of *Paris, Colen, Mentz, Salamanca, Toledo, Alcala, Saragosa, Barcelona, Sevil, Valentia*, and all the rest of *Spain*, not only at last owning it, but even excluding all those from commencing Doctors that would not first oblige themselves by Oath never to oppose the Negative, *i. e.* *Her not being Conceived in Original Sin*: Nay, the very General Synod of *Basil, Sess. 36. An. 1439.* by an expresse Decree (tho' without any Anathema) defining and declaring the said Negative, [*as Pious, and agreeable to the Church Worship, Catholick Faith, right Reason, and Holy Scripture,*] to be approved and imbract by all Catholics, and oppos'd by none thenceforth if they would not do an unlawful thing. Yea, long after this, and almost in our own Memo-

*Luke Wadding* has publish't long since this Embassy in *Latin*, and in a distinct Volume by it self.

ry, the King of *Spain* himself, *Philip* the-- having sent a Splendid Embassy to *Rome*, by *Antonius de Treio*, intreating and mightily pressing His Holiness, to define the Question ultimately, and under *Anathema*, as a Point of Faith in the foresaid Negative: and yet all the Dominican order unalterably persisting still, as to this day they do, in the Affirmative. But, what is more directly to my purpose here is to tell the Reader what the Contents were of those Papal Constitutions, that from time to time issu'd (in so great a Contest) for allaying the Feuds, silencing both sides, and punishing such offenders as would not Acquiesce. That *Sixtus* the IV. by his  
Constitution

\* Constitution which begins *Grave nimis*, dated at Rome, 1483. third Nones of *Septemb.* Excommunicated *ipso facto* all those who should say that the maintainers either of the Virgins *Immaculate Conception*, and her preservation from Original Sin, or even of the contrary Doctrine, were Hereticks or guilty of Mortal Sin. That after him *Pius* the V. by another Constitution, under the grievous Penalties of Suspension from all Divine Functions, Privation of all Decrees and Dignities, and perpetual Incapacities, &c. forbad all mention of that Controversy in Pulpits on either side, as likewise any thing at all to be dictated or writ in the Vulgar Tongue, of the Question it self, under what Pretext soever. That *Paul* the V. by his Constitution, which begins *Regis Pacifici*, dated at Rome the Sixth of *June* 1616. adds against Transgressours the farther Penalties, not only of being depriv'd of the Faculties of Preaching, Teaching, Reading publicly, Interpreting, Voting actively or passively, in whatever Elections; but of perpetual Inhability for any such Functions during Life. That *Gregory* the XV. *An.* 1622. 24. of *March*: in a general Congregation of the Holy and Supreme Inquisition at Rome, extended all those Penalties of the said former three Constitutions, even to private Discourses and Writings; enjoining all Persons concern'd, not to dare so much as in private Discourse or Talk, to affirm the said Blessed Virgin had been Conceived in Original Sin, or in any manner Act or

Treat

\* *Habetur. in Extra. com. l. 3. de reliq. & vener. Sanct. cap. 2. Grave nimis.*



Treat of this Affirmative opinion. Lastly; that, nevertheless, both he and all the former Three Popes, every one of them in their several respective Constitutions, expressly declare the controverted opinion or question it self about her Conception, to remain still *in statu quo*, that is, unprejudic'd, undetermin'd on either side as yet.

Secondly, witness the very Council of *Trent* in their time, (which was before that of any of these Three later Popes, but after the days of the former *Sixtus* the Fourth) *Seff. 5. in the Decree of Original Sin, Can. 5.* where they declare it, not to be their intention to comprehend in this Decree, where *Original Sin* is treated of, the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, but that the Constitutions of *Sixtus* the IV. of happy Remembrance be observ'd under all the Penalties contain'd in them, which they renew. Where you are to observe, that long before the Constitution *Grave nimis* of *Sixtus* the IV. *An. Dom. 1483.* there had been another of the same *Sixtus*, which begins *Cum præ excelsa*, issued by him *An. 1476. 3. Kal. Martii*, by which he gives great Indulgences to all the sayers or hearers of the Office or Mass of the Immaculate Conception, &c. Which is the reason the Council of *Trent* speaks here in the plural Number of the *Constitutions*, as renewing also this other Constitution of Indulgences, &c.

Thirdly, witness all the diffusive Body of the Roman-Catholick-Church, receiving, observing, practising, demeaning themselves in this matter exactly according to all the said Four Papal Constitutions

Constitutions and the said Conciliary Declaration of *Trent*, and Renovation of *Sixtus* the VII Constitutions in it. And, therefore, I think our learned Author has here before his Face Witnesses beyond Exception; Witnesses for Quality, and Number and Agreement much more than able to convince him, that both the Principles and Practices of that Church, and her Schools, and her Doctors, and all her People too, are diametrically opposit to him in his Assertion and Collection here. For even all those Four Papal Constitutions of *Sixtus*, *Pius*, *Paul* and *Gregory*, and that Conciliary Declaration and Renovation of the Constitutions and Penalties of the Constitutions of *Sixtus* by *Trent*, are so many and such plain Decrees of meer changeable *Discipline* in matter of *Practice* or *Fact*, as without contradiction presuppose and relate to a matter of *Faith* or Question of *Right*, and so long controverted as that concerning the fore-said immaculate Conception was. And yet none of all those Constitutions, nor altogether include (or infer) any such thing as a *Virtual Definition* of that controverted matter or Question of *Faith*, since they all every one expressly exclude it; even that of the Council it self not excepted, because referring us to and renewing the Constitution of *Sixtus* the IV. whereof the former, beginning [*Cum præexcellsa*] no less than any of the rest contains that very Exclusion. Whence it must evidently follow that our learned Author, asserting or collecting a *Virtual Definition* of the Deposing Power-Doctrine from any of those meer Disciplinary *Lateran* Canons,

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only

only because they command or prescribe a *Practice* that seems to presuppose the Fathers themselves imbued with a good opinion of that Doctrine, and *willing* others should be so too, and themselves ready also to *justify* what they had enjoyn'd in pursuance of that good opinion, must be as clearly against both the Principles and Practises of that Church, as it is destitute of all other reason; for he brings no other. Without contradiction the very Fathers of *Trent* did seem as thoroughly possess'd with a good opinion of the Immaculate Conception, and as *willing* that others should be so too, and as *ready* themselves to *justify* the Renovation of *Sixtus* the IV's Decrees against all Opposers of it, as any of the *Lateran* or those other Five or Six Councils alledg'd by *Bellarmin*, or *Lessius* can be said to have been with affection for the *Deposing Power*. Which, at least together with what I said before, is both a full Answer to our learned Author's reason here; and (if I be not extreamly deceived) a full Conviction too of any other, that in those *Lateran* Decrees of Arbitrary changeable Discipline or *Practice*, there's no such thing included as a *Virtual Definition* of that controverted *Deposing Power* its self. No, not (I say) tho' I had granted freely what he supposes without Proof, that the making of *them* proceeded wholly from the good opinion the Fathers had of it. And, therefore, I conceive, I may now at least both directly and safely conclude against his Second Assertion as repeated by him *pag. 199*. That notwithstanding any thing he has said or can say, All Roman-Catholicks may justly ex-  
cuse

*use themselves from believing this Power of deposing Princes* to have been defin'd in any of those *Latteran Councils or Canons*, however he has made so much noise with them. And, by consequence, may conclude also, That my second Principal Answer to your Lordship remains unshaken still by any thing said before hand even by that very learned Man. (5.) That were it necessary, as it is not, I could *ex superabundanti* add this one reflection more, That, had I granted no more ( which yet, I confess, I have in my last Number, for disputations sake, and a farther and fuller Conviction of all Opposers, much more ) than any real stress of the Objection, or any reasons of that learned Author did require I should ; then, doubtless, I would not have scrupled to tell him, that to me it seems one of the wildest Paradoxes in the world ( whoever broach't it, or laid the first grounds for it, ) To assert or suppose the National Churches or People or any particular person obliged, first to divine at random what those private, inward, unknown, undeclar'd motives or opinions were that influenc't the Fathers, or the Majority of them in their making or passing any Practical meer arbitrary changeable Canon of *Discipline*, which might relate to a controverted matter of *Faith* included in that Canon, whatever any foolish, or bold, or interested man shall fancy to himself or endeavour to obtrude on others, as the Opinions that inwardly guided the Council in their enacting it. And yet even so senseless, even so frantick an assertion or supposition must be the only ground our Adversaries



can pretend to at last, as their own; if we do not freely grant them a little more, as I have but now granted them some little to plant their *Lateran* Canons on against us; tho', after-all, they neither batter, nor shake, nor weaken our Defence in any wise.

Thus, my Lord, you have those Animadversions I should have made on the learned Considerers management on your *Lateran* Canon, were I concern'd here to take notice of it, or did your argument or design require I should. But neither does; since both do only press matter of *Fact*, viz. what the Doctrine of the *Roman-Catholick-Church*, as to the sense and obligation of such Disciplinary Canons *de facto* is. And I am certain my Answers to your Lordship sufficiently shew that doctrine to be *de facto* not such as can advantage that argument or design of yours. However, I thought it not amiss, for the more ample satisfaction of some Readers, to add these Animadversions here, on the *Considerer*, to my Answers to your Lordship.

#### S E C T. XXIV.

**A**N D so at last I am over your Four sorts of Proofs, by which you endeavour'd to fix the believing of the Popes Universal Monarchy, Omnipotency, deposing Power, and, consequently, of all the former Eight of your Principles, on all *Roman-Catholicks* whatsoever, as *Articles of their Faith*, and a necessary part of their Creed, and no Salvation to be had without the  
Belief

*Belief of them.* And so the *Roman Catholick Church* her self is I hope fully vindicated from your Charge of them upon her Communion : whatever may said in the mean time of the *particular Church*, or rather indeed *Court of Rome*, as influenc't from time to time by a Succession of Popes these last 600 years, that mostly have follow'd the Dictates of *Gregory the Seventh*. But the Defence or excuse of *Rome* in that sense I neither do nor can undertake. On the contrary my great quarrel to your Lordship, is that you have charg'd the *Roman Universal* with the Doctrines, or Practises of the *Roman particular*. Tho' in the mean time I cannot say that even the particular Church of *Rome*, is either justly accountable for the Errours of her Popes ; or, in all contingencies, justly representable by them : For the Church and Bishop thereof are different things ; and so is the See it self, and the Person that sits in it very distinguishable.

But, whether so or no, my province now is to consider as briefly as I can what yon bring next to prove the other remaining Positions or Principles ( as you call 'em ) to be justly chargeable on the *Roman-Catholick Church*. For, albeit they are all, saving the 9<sup>th</sup>. and 10<sup>th</sup>. and 18<sup>th</sup>. appendages of those former Eight enormous bloody ones indeed of the deposing Power and Papal Omnipotency : and, by consequence, are such as I needed not trouble my self with, being I have already said so much to clear that Church from those other they depend upon ; yet, to balk nothing, I'll animadvert on them every one apart. That is, I'll shew the

insignificancy of your Proofs to fix any of them on the *Roman-Catholick Church*, as either *believ'd* or  *approv'd* by her.

( 1. ) To begin with your Ninth and Tenth Principle, *viz. That even the Subjects may not only depose their Sovereigns, if they be Hereticks, but ought, and both in Law and Conscience are strictly bound to depose 'em being such* ; I only repeat here what I noted before, that *Philopater*, and *Bellarmino*, and *Mariana*, three Jesuits ; the first an *English man*, the second an *Italian*, and the last a *Spaniard*, make but a very sorry Proof to charge them on the whole *Roman Catholick Church*, ; unless, peradventure, you would have her answerable for all *their Doctrines*, nay and for the new *Heresy* of the Colledge of *Clermont* too. For I am sure you have not added a word of other Authority or reason to back these three Republican Authors of yours.

( 2. ) Nor is the reason of your Eleventh position, as charg'd either on her, or even so much as upon the very particular Church or Court of *Rome*, any better or stronger. This Eleventh is, *That it is unlawful both for secular Princes to require any Oath of Allegiance or Fidelity of the Clergy, and for the Clergy to take such Oath however requir'd of them*. And your reason is, Because ( say you ) 'tis so order'd by the great Council of *Lateran*, cap. 43. and out of that Council inserted by *Gregory the 9th*. in his *Decretals*, cap. *nimis. de jure-jurando*. But, besides, that this is but a Canon of *Discipline* at best, and therefore subject to the Interpretation of the Receivers, even as a Canon of that very Council ; to say nothing of  
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it as a Papal only inserted in the Canon-Law, which we have seen before is of much less Authority, yea of none at all in *France*, or other Catholick Countries wheresoever it touches the Prerogative of the Prince: besides all this, I say, there is not one word in that Canon to prove this Principle of yours: no mention at all of *King* or *Prince* or other *Supreme Lord* in it; unless your Lordship can prove them comprehended under those general common words [*Quidam Laici*] *Some Lay-men*: which, as we have already seen at large, your Lordship will never be able to do. But let the Canon it self appear in it's full and just Translation, without any alteration or diminution at all, and then speak for your Lordship what it can, or you can make it, speak. [*Some Lay-persons* (say the Fathers) endeavour to usurp too much of Divine Right, when they force Ecclesiastical Persons that hold no Temporals of them, to take an Oath of Allegiance to them. But, because a Servant stands or falls to his Lord, as the Apostle says, therefore by Authority of the sacred Council we command that such Clerks shall not be forced to take such Oaths to secular Persons. Where as (and as you see) there is no mention of, no word of Honour to comprehend Princes, Kings, &c. so neither is the Prohibition General to all Clerks, but only to such Clerks as held no Temporals of those Layicks that would have unjustly forced them. Which if your Lordship had observ'd in your Translation, the Reader had not been left by you so much groping in the dark. But then, if your Lordship had moreover observed what your own Reason might tell you,



that all Clerks whatsoever have from Kings and other Supreme Lords at least Protection for their persons and Goods, ( which is far I am sure from being no Temporal thing or benefit ) this very reason might have sufficiently persuaded you, that the Fathers meant not at all to prohibit Oaths of Fidelity to Kings or Princes, but only to some injurious pragmatical inferiour Lords, who had no right to exact them.

## S E C T. XXV.

3. **I**Ndeed the twelfth Position, tho' it be not a Position or Principle, but for the former part of it ( bating the word *absolute* ) a meer Practice imposed by Usurpation of the Court of Rome on ambitious pretenders to Bishopricks; and, for the second part, only an illegal inference of your own; has, notwithstanding, some little more pretence or shew of Argument to ground it ( I mean as to the said former part ) than your Eleventh has. I say, *pretence or shew*; for in truth it is no better nor other. But I repeat this whole Twelfth in your own words. *That when and where Popery prevails, all their Bishops swear absolute Allegiance and Fidelity to the Pope, and therefore cannot swear it to their Prince too.* So says, and so argues your Lordship, quoting for Proof, I suppose of your Antecedent, *cap. Ego. extra. de jurejurando.* and the Roman Pontifical *de Consecrat. Electi in Episcopum.*

Before I come to give your Lordship my Answer, I shall for the Reader's more ample Satisfaction ( 1. ) lay down out of the Roman Pontifical

Pontifical that whole intire Oath it self, where-by the Bishops are at this present Sworn to the Pope. Which I do the rather, because you were pleased to give only such few Scraps of it as you thought fit; and them also only with your own additional Paraphrases on 'em in *Ita-lick*; whether to amuse, or perplex, or confound your Readers your Lordship knows best. (2.) I shall fairly acknowledge whatever you can justly demand of me to acknowledge in reference either to that Oath, or the Bishops taking it.

And, first, the Oath, which begins in Latin: *Ego N. ab hâc horâ, &c.* is according to the best of my skill exactly render'd thus in English. [J. N. from this time forward will be faithful and obedient to B. Peter the Apostle, and the Holy Roman-Church, and to our Lord the Lord N. Pope N. and his Successour's entring canonically. I shall not, be in Counsel nor Consent, nor Façt to bereave them of life or member, or to seize them with an evil seizure, or to lay violent hands upon them in any manner, or to do them any injury under what pretence soever. The counsel which they shall impart to me by themselves, or Messengers, or Letters, I shall not wittingly to their harm reveal to any. The Roman Papacy and Regalities of S. Peter, I will be their Helper to hold and defend, saving my Order, against all Men. The Legat of the Apostolick See I will honourably treat in his going and returning, and help in his necessities. The Rights, Honours, Priviledges and Authority of the Holy Roman-Church, our Lord the Pope and his Successours, I will take care to conserve, defend, increase, and promote. Neither will I be in Counsel, or Façt or Treaty, wherein there shall be either against our Lord the Pope himself, or the said Roman-Church, any evil or prejudice to their Persons, Right, State and Power, machinated. And if I shall know any such matter to be treated or procured by any whomsoever, I will hinder it to my power: and, as soon as I can, will signify it to our said Lord or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, Decrees, ordinations or dispositions, reservations, provisions and mandates Apostolick I will observe with

with all my might, and cause them to be observ'd by others. Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels to our said Lord or his foresaid Successors, I will to my power persecute and impugn. When call'd to a Synod I will come, unless I be hinder'd by some Canonical impediment. The Thresholds of the Apostles I shall every three Years by my self personally visit; and to our Lord and foresaid Successors will render an account of my whole Pastoral Office, and of all things any way belonging either to the State of my Church, or Discipline of the Clergy and People, or lastly, to the Salvation of Souls committed to my charge: and, on the other side, will humbly receive and most diligently execute the Apostolical Mandates. And, if hinder'd myself by any lawful impediment, I shall discharge all the said duties by a certain Messenger, who shall to that purpose have a special Mandate, and be of the Bosome of my Chapter, or by some other Secular or Regular Priest of known probity and Religion, fully instructed in all the said matters: And the impediment hindring my self, I shall make appear by legal Proofs, to be Transmitted by the foresaid Messenger to the Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church who shall be Proponent in the Congregation of the Sacred Council. The possessions belonging to my Table, I will neither sell, nor bestow, nor pawn, nor give anew in Fee, nor any way alienate, not even with the Consent of the Chapter of my Church, without, first consulting the Roman-Bishop. And, if I come to any alienation, I will be content to incur (eo ipso) by doing so the penalties contain'd in a certain Constitution publish'd against it. So help me God and these Holy Gospels.]

Now, what I would acknowledge in reference to this Form is: (1.) That as to the particulars sworn therein, it is without Question a very strict Oath of Fidelity and Obedience. (2.) That, if the Court of Rome had the interpretation of it, and were the Bishops of the respective National Churches of that Communion bound to stand to *their* interpretation, it might amount even to the nature of a very Oath of Allegiance, properly such. (3.) That so it may be presum'd to amount *de facto*, in relation to those Bishops *in partibus*, who living under

under, and having no other known Supreme Temporal Princes than such as are esteem'd Hereticks at *Rome*, refuse to take any Oath of Fidelity or Obedience to them in meer Temporals. (4.) That, from the beginning there was no such, nor other, Oath, nay nor promise neither of Fidelity or Obedience made by the Bishops to the Pope; but only a bare profession of the common Faith; even such as He also, when Elected, usually made to them by his Encyclical Letters: and, afterwards, when Promises began, they were only of *Canonical* Obedience in general terms. (5.) That not only not before at least the year 724. when our English *Boniface* was made Bishop of *Mentz* by *Gregory* the Second, formal Oaths of obedience to the Pope were neither impos'd nor in use at the Consecration of Bishops; but, when afterwards they were, there was also no longer since then the year 1246. this Clause [*salva fide Domino Regi*] Saving my Allegiance to my Lord the King ] inserted in the Oath as the Bishops took it here in *England*. (6.) That, as in after-times there were new additions still to that Oath, and among others, *The Royalties of S. Peter*, added to *The Rules of the Holy Fathers*, and all for the advantage of the *Roman* Court, and stricter dependence of all Bishops on the Pope; so it came at last to be understood the general grievance of the Church, and the great hindrance to any Reformation of that Court or any freedom in the Councils. (8.) That the Secret of this Oath, (for so by the Bishops themselves that took it 'twas a long time kept a Secret, lest their  
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respective Princes might be startled at it) being discovered by Dr. *Cromwell* to *Henry VIII.* was the very first grand occasion that resolute Prince took to fall heavily on the Clergy of his Dominions, and by degrees lessen their dependence on the Pope, till at last he utterly cut it off root and branch. All these particulars I do, and much more I could freely acknowledge here to your Lordship. And yet, after all, I doubt not my Answers, which shall be two, and no more, to this Twelfth material Article of your Charge, will prove, before impartial Judges, both full and clear, and satisfactory in all respects.

First Answer, That neither is the Antecedent true, nor does the Consequent follow. Not the Antecedent true, for two Reasons. The one is, that by *Absolute Allegiance and Fidelity*, either you mean such as extends to all things both Spiritual and Temporal whatsoever; and consequently you mean such as even perfectly absolves the Swearers from all those Duties inconsistent therewith, that have been, or might be antecedently owing to any other by the Law of God or Man; or you do not. If the later, then I demand where is the *Absoluteness* of the Allegiance and Fidelity Sworn by all those Bishops? Their Swearing and their Oath it self may have twenty conditions tacitly understood for ought you mean or say. It may exclude all Temporals. It may be only in Spirituals, and such Spirituals too as are allow'd not only by the Canons of the Universal Church, nor only by those, of the National Churches whereof  
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the Elect Bishops are Members ; but by the Laws of the Land, or Kingdom or State, whereof they are Subjects. In a word, if you mean the latter, it may involve generally still, the saving of all Rights of the Prince, or People, or Church, or it's lawful Representative, a general Council ; and, so, render the Antecedent plainly false. But if you mean the former ; then also must your said Antecedent Proposition be no less undoubtedly false, because there is not a Bishop any where in the World out of the Ecclesiastical State or Temporal Jurisdiction of the Pope, that does or is supposed by any to Swear any such Allegiance or Fidelity to the Pope. Nor, indeed, can the Bishops either of *Germany* or *Spain*, or State of *Venice*, and least of all those of *France*, or any other that declare against any power in the Church, as given by Christ to *Peter*, but purely Spiritual ; be with any colour supposed to Swear so. They all universally acknowledge their own Lay Supreme Temporal respective Kings, States, Lords, to be independent in their Temporals from any but God alone, and Allegiance and Fidelity due to them in all such matters from all their own Subjects, even Ecclesiasticks ( neither Bishop, nor Archbishop, nor Primate, nor Patriarch excepted, as shall be seen hereafter upon another Head of yours. ) Nay and most of 'em too, if not all every one, besides a few Courtiers, are for the absolute subjection of the Pope himself to a general Council, and those Canons which are call'd *Universalis Ecclesia*. Nor does *cap. Ego. extra. de jure jurando*, nor does the Roman Pontifical,

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*de consecrat. Electi*, the two Authorities you refer us to; nor consequently does the Oath itself, which I have already given out of that Pontifical, prove this meaning, of yours; if it be yours, to be right. They have not any thing in word or Sense like it, not in the least. Nor indeed is it possible they should; unless we suppos'd them to have that which is against all our Schools, and Canons, and Scripture and reason it self to boot; which we must not suppose when nothing is brought to prove it. (2.) The other reason is, that even laying aside the word *Absolute*, and whatever meaning of it you please, your Lordship is still extreamly out in calling that Oath of the Bishops an Oath of *Allegiance* in any Sense. For, tho' I grant it a very strict Oath of Obedience and Fidelity, as to those particular things they promise to be obedient and faithful in; 'tis, nevertheless, far enough from the nature of an Oath of *Allegiance*. It does not bind the Swearers to be *Liegemien* to the Pope in all Temporals, nor do they intend, nor can they be said to intend thereby to bind themselves to be his *Liegemien*, since they declare themselves still *absolute Subjects*, at least as to all Temporals, to their own respective Princes. But in the English, Legal, and usual Sense of an Oath of *Allegiance*, it binds the Swearers properly and throughly to be *Liegemien* to all intents and purposes; insomuch that they must acknowledge their very goods and persons, according to the Laws of the Land, subject to him they make that Oath to; and so subject, that without his consent they cannot dispose of either at the  
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Pope's desire: no not so much as visit him at Rome, or depart the Land to pleasure him elsewhere; or obey him at all in a hundred other things, notwithstanding any word or clause of this very Oath they take to him, at their Consecration, or Instalment, or both.

As for your Lordships three objections to the contrary, none of 'em has any kind of real weight. You derive them indeed out of the Oath, and they are these in your own words. ( 1. ) *Never to discover the Popes Counsels ( how treasonable soever ) to any Man, ( not the King. )* ( 2. ) *To defend the Pope's Royalties against all men ( the King not excepted. )* ( 3. ) And if any thing be treated of prejudicial to the Pope, by any whomsoever ( the King not excepted ) they Swear ( to the utmost of their Power ) to oppose and hinder it. But, had your Lordship here consulted a little your own great store of knowledge, you might have there observed what certainly ought to have hinder'd you from relying on such weak pretences. ( 1. ) You might have remember'd what I prov'd at large in my 22. Section, that in odious matters the King is never understood by any general words; nor is, consequently comprehended here, either by the words [ any Man ] or [ all Men ] or [ Any whomsoever. ] ( 2. ) You might have reflected on those common Rules of the very Canon Law; which are allow'd not only by all Divines, and Canonists, but reason it self, for what concerns the taking and interpreting of Oaths. ( 1. ) That in all Oaths of Secrecy, this ( a ) tacit ( a ) *Glossa in cap. Ego. de jure jurando, verb. nulli pandam.* remitting us further to 22. q. 5. cap. *Hoc videtur.*

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condition is ever more involv'd, that the Secret be not against honesty or justice prejudicial to any man; and, if it be, is to be reveal'd to him whom it may benefit and no ways harm. ( 2. ) That in every Oath, the Right of the Superiour, [*cap. vemente. extra. de jure jurando.*] tho' no mention be made of it or him, is always understood as excepted. ( 3. ) That no Oath binds beyond the intention of the Swearer himself, [ 22. q. 1. *cap. humane aures.* ] nor is by any other to be thought, interpreted or expounded to bind farther or otherwise than according to the rational just intention of him that took it. ( 4. ) That no Oath made either to Man or God himself can oblige the Swearer to do or maintain that which in it's self is wicked or unjust: for Swearing or an Oath was not ordain'd that it might prove [*vinculum iniquitatis,*] a link or bond of Iniquity, [ *cap. 4. de jurejurando.* ] lays *Innocent the III.* writing to the Illustrious King of *Aragon.* ( 5. ) That an unlawful Oath, for so much of it as is unlawful, ought to be broken, and repented of; and the lawful duty which it hinder'd, and was otherwise obliging, perform'd. [ *Ibid. et cap. Ea te credimus. eod.* ] ( 6. ) That an Oath due to one, if it be made to another to whom 'tis not due, is unlawful; and ought, nevertheless, be made again to him that had a right to it. [ *Dicto cap. Ea te credimus.* ] ( 7. ) That a general Oath must be so understood, if possible, as not to be against Law, and where it cannot be so understood, must be look't upon as a temerarious Oath and not obliging. [ *cap. ad nostrum. eod.* ]

(3.) You might have consider'd that all those Bishops generally being, and acknowledging themselves to be, truly subject in all Temporals to their own respective Supreme Lay-Princes, cannot justly be presum'd, where they promise either to defend the *Pope's Royalties against all men*, or, *if they know any thing treated of by any whomsoever*, *they will to the uttermost of their power hinder them*; cannot, I say, be justly presum'd to oblige themselves to other defence, of those, or other hindrance of these, than such as become, Bishops and Subjects to another Prince; and, therefore, not to that of furnishing either money, or men, or arms, or going themselves in person, or so much as putting a foot out of the Kingdom to defend *the Royalties of St. Peter*, without their own Princes leave, much less contrary to his Laws and express will; as neither to that of giving intelligence of any just designs of his against the Pope or his Court: and least of all to that of keeping the Popes Counsel, when it is treasonable or wicked or any way destructive or injurious to their own lawful Prince. Whence it must follow, that all they can be justly said to bind themselves to by that Oath, as to these particulars, can be no other but to pray to God and intercede with the Prince, and others with his leave, whose Province it is, or in whose real power it may be to defend the just rights of the Pope, and hinder all unjust machinations against him.

(4.) As to those other five particulars you indirectly glance at by giving 'em among those you especially take notice of as part of the Con-

tents of that Oath, tho' you do not otherwise object them, viz. ( 1. ) I will carefully *conserve, defend and promote the Rights, Honours, privileges and Authority of the Pope.* ( 2. ) I will not be in any *Counsel, Fact or Treaty in which any thing prejudicial to the person, Rights or Power of the Pope is contriv'd, &c.* ( 3. ) I will to the utmost of my power *observe the Pope's commands, and make others observe 'em.* ( 4. ) I will *impugn and persecute Hereticks and Rebels to my Lord the Pope.* ( 5. ) I will come to the *Synod when he calls me, &c.* As to these, I say your Lordship might have likewise consider'd what latitude the foresaid Rules of the Canon-law, and Reason both, allow for a due and right Interpretation here. And that, accordingly, the Bishops oblige themselves only by the First, to preserve carefully the *just Rights, &c.* By the second, not to be in any *Counsel, &c.* wherein any thing *unjustly* prejudicial to the *Pope* is contriv'd. By the Third, to observe the *Popes just Commands, &c.* By the Fourth, to *impugn and persecute Hereticks, &c. in such a manner only as becomes a Bishop, and so far only too as the Prince and his Laws do permit the persecution of 'em, and not otherwise.* There being, certainly, no obligation from this Oath on any Bishop to persecute Hereticks, &c. but the contrary from the *Laws of God and Man* upon him, where the Prince and his Laws are against it: as we know they both have been well nigh a whole Century of years in *France*, and some other parts of *Europe.* As for your Fifth, your Lordship needed not have troubled your self with giving it at all; since you knew the Oath it self pre-

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vents any quarrel to it by these other words immediately following your prudent, &c. [*if I be not hinder'd by a Canonical impediment*] *Nisi canonica praepeditione impeditus fuero* and you knew withal the Kings inhibition is such an impediment.

( 5. ) And to return once more to your most signal objection, I mean that of a treasonable Secret against the King ; your Lordship might have farther consider'd what your self would have thought of a good honest well-meaning Bishop, who having taken that Oath, was after made Privy either by *Urban* the VI. to his cruel inhumane Plot of sowing those five Cardinals in Sacks whom he caus'd in such manner to be drown'd in the Sea ; or by *Alexander* the VI. to his no less impious design of poysoning at an entertainment those other Cardinals of his own, who providentially scaped by his drinking ( tho' unwittingly ) the poyson'd Wine prepar'd for them ; whether such a Bishop could possible hold himself oblig'd in conscience by that Oath, not to prevent the acting of such horrible wickedness, by revealing the Secret, tho' imparted to him by the Pope himself ? And as I presume your Lordship's own self would not have thought so meanly of his judgment in either of both cases, so in all likelyhood much less would you, I am sure *should* you, if the secret had been for poysoning or killing his own Sovereign lawful Prince, the Anointed of God, and his Vicegerent in all Temporals on earth.

*Platina in vita Urb. 6. & Alex. 6.*



( 6 ) Nay, your Lordship might have consider'd, that even out of meer friendship and kindness, or out of interest either as you please, one absolute Prince might Swear to another as *Absolute* and Independent as himself ; and both might Swear mutually in their turns what might amount to all those very three points, objected here by your Lordship to the Bishops and their Oath ; and yet both of them be far enough ( as every man sees they might and would be ) from swearing Allegiance one to the other.

( 7. ) Lastly, you might have consider'd, that as there is not in any of those three particulars you object, or of the other five instanced, tho' not objected, so verily neither in any other Clause of that whole Oath, is there a word that, being allow'd an equitable Interpretation according to the above Rules for interpreting Oaths, may be said to be against those very Bishops in the point of their swearing true Allegiance and Fidelity to the King, tho' of a different Religion from theirs. And yet I confess there is more than enough, nay more than too much sworn against their own Rights and Liberties therein. *Sed volenti non fit injuria* : and they are content for a Bishoprick to profess themselves meer Slaves to the Pope. If they be not so really and actually in all things, they may thank their Kings, not themselves. However, 'tis manifest enough they Swear nothing in this Oath, which may hinder them from Swearing afterwards all due Allegiance and Fidelity to the King. Which, together with  
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what else I have said before, is sufficient to prove my first Answer, viz. *that neither is your Antecedent Proposition True, nor does your Consequent follow.* Only, for a clearer illustration of my meaning as to the latter part, I add, that in case your Antecedent were suppos'd true, as it is not, or I had granted it as True, which I cannot, I would nevertheless have deny'd your Consequence. And for proof would have refer'd you to that which I have given already in the Fifth and Sixth and Seventh Rule both of Law and Reason, for the just Interpretation of Oaths. In short, the unjust taking of an Oath even of *absolute Allegiance and Fidelity* to him that had no right to it but that of meer Vsurpation, could be no hindrance to the just taking of it afterwards to another whose right it was; nor to the retracting it wholly as made to the former, and repenting too of the Sin committed against God in taking it formerly to a man who had no right to it.

The Second Answer. That, were the whole of your charge in this Twelfth Article granted; or, which is the same thing, were not only your said Antecedent proposition admitted as True, but your Consequent also to follow in this sense (which I suppose to be your sense) that those Bishops could not honestly or conscientiously swear absolute Allegiance and Fidelity to their Prince too, without breaking their former Oath to the Pope; I see not after all how you can possibly conclude any thing to your purpose against the Faith, or Doctrine, or Sense of the Roman-Catholick-Church her self, as if She by Con-

sent, Approbation, Allowance, or at least Permission were guilty of that Oath. Without contradiction the very greatest Univerſality of Biſhops, acting every one a part in their private capacities, as men ſubject to the temptations of worldly Intereſt, Honour, Greatneſs, &c. are neither the Church Diffuſive or Repreſentative; no, not reſtraining or confining the Church to Eccleſiaſticks only. Nor is the Church, nor is her Faith, or Doctrine, or Senſe answerable at all for ſuch their private failings. She knows nothing of that Oath taken by her Biſhops. I am ſure thouſands and Ten thouſands of her very moſt learned even Eccleſiaſticks do not. I was my ſelf an old Divine of neer forty years ſtanding before I ſo much as heard of it. In fine, 'tis a work of Secrecy confin'd to a Book, and a Ceremony that one perhaps in a million knows not of till he comes to be conſecrated Biſhop. And therefore, the Church can be no more answerable for it than ſhe would be for *Simony*, were all her Biſhops admitted to be every one of them private *Simoniacks* againſt both her Faith, and Doctrine, and Practice too of all her good members from the very beginning. Certainly, this Oath, taken in your ſenſe, muſt be at leaſt as much againſt the Faith, Doctrine, and Approbation of the Church as even *Simony* it ſelf is known to be. To conclud, if thoſe very Biſhops themſelves that have taken it were to be Judges of it in a free ( tho' but Occidental ) Council to morrow, they would certainly clear the Church, not only of approving it in that Senſe of yours, but

but in any whatsoever till the Form were chang'd. Yea, the most Illustrious *Petrus de Marca* himself, tho' the man that as *Baluzius* writes of him, so strangely temporiz'd with *Rome* in several instances to get into three or four Bishopricks, and among them two Archbishopricks, one after another, would, if we may guess at his great Soul out of his great Work *De Sacerdotio & Imperio*, throw the first Stone at it, were he alive again. But, however we think of such conditional futurities, either as to that *Marca* himself or the rest of the Bishops, I am sure that, without laying any stress on what they would do or not do, Your charge in this Article is more than fully answer'd. On which I confess, I would thus far dilate, not only because I conceiv'd it the most speciously ground'd of any in all your Book; but also, because I had never seen any before my self that ventur'd to examine the true import, or indeed any import at all of that Mystrious Oath: Tho' it be generally suppos'd to be at least one of the fundamental supports of the Papacy, ever since Pope *Hildebrands time*; that is, ever since the first introduction of a Despotical Power into the Church to Lord it over the free heritage of Christ. But the Christian, but the Roman Catholick World it self, but the National Churches, and States, and Princes, and People of that very Communion have been wiser all along than to acknowledge any such power in the Pope, whatever he himself intended by his foresaid Oath, taken by Men, that right or wrong would be Bishops.



O F your Thirteenth and Fourteenth Article, viz. that *All their Ecclesiasticks are exempt from paying any Tax or Contribution to secular Princes without the Popes leave. Nay, that not only 'tis unlawful for the Clergy, even otherwise, to pay or give their Princes, without such leave, a y Contribution, so much as by way of a voluntary free Benevolence; and the Princes requiring or imposing any on them are Excommunicate; but all the Statutes and Laws made by the Princes to that purpose are by the Pope's Canons render'd plainly null and void. So that ( says your Lordship ) by this Principle, and Popish Law whereon 'tis grounded, if the very King and Parliament of England lay any Tax, or by a Statute require any Subsidy of Clergy-men, tho in the publick necessities of the Kingdom, without the Pope's leave, such Statute is declar'd void and null; and they and their Successours, unless satisfaction be made, are Excommunicate.* Of this Article, I say, or this Doctrine or Principle, as you call it, and impose the Belief or at least Approbation of it ( as you do that of the rest ) on the Religion of that Church in her very Diffusive Latitude, I say the Proofs are not so strong, nor specious neither, as to give me much trouble in clearing them. And yet, I confess, that besides your quoting in particular *Fillucius* and *Panormitan*, and then saying in General [ *'Tis the constant Doctrine of their Casuists, their Canon-Law and Canonists* ] you alledge not only out of that Law it self, *cap. Non minus.* and *cap. Adversus. extra. de immunitate Ecclesiarum;* but refer us to the 46. Chapter of the Great La-

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teran Council under *Innocent the III.* Nay, and for a Confirmation produce an exprefs full passage of *Bulla Cane*; adding withal the very Council of *Trent Sess. 25. de Reform. cap. 20.* and again in *formâ Professionis Fidei*. But all these Proofs are every one of them extreamly insignificant to conclude your purpose; that is, to verify your Position in reference to Supreme Secular Princes.

( 1. ) Because neither *cap. Non minus*, nor *cap. Adversus*, has so much as the least word against Princes; but, in exprefs Terms, proceed both of them, only against *Consuls and Rectors*, and other *Inferiour lay-Magistrates* of some Cities, that, contrary to the Exemptions granted even by the Laws of Supreme Princes themselves, oppress poor Church-men; laying all publick burthens on them alone; as *Alexander the III.* mightily and pathetically complains of it in that former *cap. Non minus*, extracted out of his third *Lateran Council, cap. 21.* And the same oppression either continuing or renew'd again under *Innocent the III.* was it that made him also in that other *cap. Adversus* (extracted likewise out of the 46. Chapter of his fourth and great Council of *Lateran*) not only renew all the Ecclesiastical Censures of *Alexander the III.* against the Oppressours, but farther add the Civil Sanction of *voiding and annulling* all Statutes made by such Consuls, Rectors and other inferiour lay-Magistrates of Cities, contrary to the Laws of Ecclesiastical Immunity granted formerly by the Princes. Where your Lordship will be pleas'd to observe, that for this point of *voiding or annulling*

nulling such Statutes, it must be understood either only in reference to those Statutes made within the Ecclesiastical State; or, if of others too, then certainly with reference to the consent and ratification of those Princes in whose Jurisdiction such oppressing Statute-makers dwelt; and that the Doctrine which proves this point ought to be so understood I have (tho on another occasion) given at large in the former Section XXII.

(2.) Because, the great *Lateran* Council which you quote here again with some flourish, has nothing more concerning this matter, being it has or is only that Canon *Adversus*; which I have but now consider'd together with *Alexanders* [ *Non minus.* ]

(3.) Because, altho' what your Lordship quotes out of *Bulla Cane* here, be in express formal Terms against even all Princes, Kings, Emperours, &c. that lay any Tax on Clergy-men without the Pope's consent; yet, as no where else can other passage of that Bull be serviceable to the purpose of your Book, so neither can that in this place be. Your Lordship may remember I have already in my Answer to your Ninth Supposition abundantly ruin'd the Authority of that Bull, and shew'd it rejected every where, save only the small confines of the Ecclesiastical State.

(4.) Because, there is not a word in that Chapter of the *Tridentin* Fathers you quote, nor a Syllable neither to your purpose here against *Kings, Princes*, or any other *Supreme* Lords, as to their laying Taxes on Church-men without the

he Pope's leave. Unless your Lordship will gainst all reason take for such the Councils most respectful admonition to, and futable expressions of great confidence in the Emperour, Kings, Republicks, Princes and other Supreme Lords, that they will not only permit within their own Dominions the Church to enjoy her own rights, but will not suffer any of their own Ministers, Officials, Magistrates or Temporal Lords to wrong her in any manner, by hindering either the exercise of her Jurisdiction or violating her Immunity. 'Tis true, the Fathers in that same 25. *Session de Reformatione*, Chapter 26. have thole expressions; and besides them that whole passage too you quote; the former giving to the *Immunity of the Church and Ecclesiastical persons* this Epithet of *having been establish't by the Ordination of God and Canonical Sanctions*; and to the *Rights of the Church*, the other of *tanquam Dei præcepta*, or of being as the *Precepts of God*. The latter, *decreeing and commanding the sacred Canons and all General Councils as also other Apostolical Sanctions in favour of Ecclesiastical persons, Ecclesiastical Liberty, and against the Infringers of it publish't, all which they renew also by this present Decree, to be exactly observ'd by All*. But how either of these expressions can advantage your Lordship, I confess, I cannot see. Your Lordship knows the former to be only incidental or transient expressions; not intended, not made use of in the proper strict sense of the words; not convas'd, not examin'd, much less defin'd to be so taken; as indeed they could not be defin'd in a Canon of meer Discipline, such

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as this Chapter is. Besides, that exhorting the Princes to venerate and regard the Rights of the Church *tanquam Dei præcepta*, as if they were the Precepts of God, is not affirming them to be his Precepts. And I can tell your Lordship that even *Dominicus Soto* ( in 4. *distinct.* 25. c. 2. *art.* 2. ) and others of his way have long since observ'd, that in such matters and by such expressions as are *the Ordination of God, a Divine Precept, a Divine Law, the will of the Omnipotent*, or the like, used sometimes by the Fathers, no immediate Institution of God or Christ, as deliver'd to us by Scripture or Tradition, is or ought to be understood; but his Mediate only by the Church or Men, or his Providential care only in directing the Princes to grant such immunities as they thought fit to Church-men and their Goods; tho none at all exempting either from their own Supreme Power, especially in cases of necessity has ever been, nor could be granted by them. That Gods moving their Hearts to do so is call'd by the Fathers *the Ordination of God*; as all things else that are immediately done by man and are pleasing to God are, in a large Sense, commonly call'd *the Ordinances of God*, or ( which is the same thing ) said to be order'd by him. And that especially the immediate Precepts of the Church enjoyn'g the observance of that Immunity which Princes had originally given, are often call'd by the Fathers, *Divine Precepts*; viz. by an extrinsick denomination, either from the thing enjoyn'd as tending to *Divine Service*; or from their own Authority ( which they suppose to be *Divine*,

as deriv'd from the *Keys* ) enjoinning it. In which latter sense 'tis also very usual with Popes and Councils to Style their own meer Ecclesiastical Canons, *Divine* : and such Canons too, I mean, as, by the Confession of all sides, never had any Law of God either in Scripture or Tradition for them. Whereof, amongst innumerable other examples which I could give, the 27. Canon of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, and the third Action of the seventh General Synod may be sufficient Proofs. For in the former 'tis plain that meer Ecclesiastical rules, tho concerning only the district Jurisdiction and Preeminence of the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch and some other Bishops and Metropolitans, are called *Divine Canons* ; and in the latter too, the Title of *Divine Constitutions*, and *divinely-inspired Constitutions*, is attributed to the Laws and Canons in general of the Church. So that your Lordship needed not have remark't here upon *Ordinatione Divina* and *tanquam Dei precepta*, as if they were to be oppos'd to all those Ordinances and precepts which are properly, strictly, immediately and only from *Man* ; or, as if they were to be understood of those Ordinations or Precepts of *God* which are strictly *Divine*, as having *Him* alone their *immediate* Author. Which is enough in answer to this Remark of yours, till you can prove the Fathers here would be understood in the proper strict Sense of an *Ordination of God*, or of *Precepts* or *Commands of God* ; and not in the larger usual or common, which not only comprehends all those for his peculiar Service, ordain'd either  
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by Men supernaturally Commission'd, as Bishops are, especially in Council; or by the Princes themselves who are above all Bishops in their Station; but is oppos'd to those other precepts and Ordinations of Man, which have neither any peculiar Service of God for the End, nor for their Authors Men so Commission'd, or such power as might give in any sense the denomination of *Divine* to their Ordinance or Precepts; and which therefore many of the Councils themselves do by way of distinction call *meerly Human*, or the Ordinances and Precepts only of *meer Man*.

( 5. ) Because the Form of the Oath for professing the Faith, which you alledge next, neither prescribed by the

( a ) Sess. 24. de Re-form. c. 1. & 12. & Sess. 25. c. 2. de Re-form. are the only places where the Council orders a Profession of Faith to be made. And yet not a word of any certain Form thereof in any of them.

( a ) Council, but only by the Bull of *Pius* the IV. Nor is it by either of them prescribed for the Princes themselves; nor does, or has ever yet any Prince taken. Neither has it any such Clause, (tho your Lordship says, and says in *Italy* too, it has) wherein

Swearers declare they *believe all the Canons of Councils before mention'd, especially the Decrees of Trent Fathers*. Nor does it follow, that because the Swearers acknowledge they undoubtedly receive and profess all whatever has been delivered and defin'd and declar'd by the sacred Canons and Oecumenical Councils, and chiefly by the most sacred *Tridentin* Synod, they must the

fore be said to believe them all. Neither can it be rationally suppos'd they so much as receive or profess 'em otherwise than as respectively belongs to them in their different natures and degrees; that is, the Canons of *Faith*, as such; and the Canons of *Discipline*, as only such: Nor, by consequence, ought it at all be presum'd of the Swearers, that they receive or profess either Councils or Canons, at least any Canons of the later sort, otherwise than in Subordination to the reception or rejection of them by their own respective National Churches whereof they are members, and to the Laws of the Land where they are Subjects. Nor is it well conceivable how your Lordship could persuade your self this Argument should be Conclusive: All Arch bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and all Dignities who in Cathedral or other Superiour Churches have the care of Souls, and all Regulars too (if rich, or not Mendicant) even Military Orders that by whatever name or Title are (as Superiours) provided for of any Monasteries, Convents, Houses or other Places (for such and so many, and no more nor no other are they who are appointed by the foresaid Bull to take that Oath for professing the Faith) declare that they undoubtedly receive and profess whatever has been deliver'd, defin'd and declar'd by the sacred Canons, General Councils, and chiefly by the Council of Trent. Ergo, all Roman-Catholicks, National Churches, Kingdoms, States of that Communion either believe or at least approve or allow the doctrine charg'd upon 'em all by your Lordship in this fourteenth Article here, that all Clergy-men are exempt from paying any Tax, or giving so much as any voluntary



tary contribution, without the Popes leave, to their Supreme Lords on Earth, tho requiring it of them, &c. And yet this, and no other to your purpose, must be the Argument derivable from that Oath professing the Faith. And yet, not only no Prince ( as I said before ) but no Lay-person whatsoever in the World, no nor no Secular Priest, or Secular Clergy-man, not dignify'd or beneficed, none of the Regular Mendicant Orders, either Inferiours, or Superiours, nor any neither of the very non-Mendicants, save only those provided for as Superiours of Houses, are by the tenour of the foresaid Bull enjoyn'd to take this Oath for professing the Faith. Besides, that those who take it must surely be allow'd, especially as to those Canons of Disciplin, all the Latitude to explain themselves in, which not only the Popes own Rules for explaining Oaths, but reason, and Custome, and the Government or Principles of their own respective National Churches, and the Laws of their Princes and States do give them. All which being so, where's the purpose of your adding this Form or Oath of *Pius IV.* to the *Tridentin* Chapter which you gave before it?

However, you see, my Lord, in five several Heads the Reasons that moved me to say, your Proofs for this Article were not so strong, nor so specious neither, as to give me much trouble in clearing them. As for the particular and private Authority of *Fillicius* or *Panormitan*, did they descend, as they do not, to the Question Circumstantiated as I have given it here

here; I could, were it necessary as now it is not, oppose to them all the Casuists and Canonists of the *Gallican* Church and Kingdom, and State of *Venice*, and other Churches and Nations, which maintain the Supreme Independent Rights of Princes and States against all Encroachments of the Pope or his Court, or his Canon-Law, or his *Bulla Cæne* or any other Bull or Sanction of his. Which, at least together with what I have given before in the five Heads, may mote than abundantly suffice to answer also your saying in general [*'Tis the Constant Doctrine of their Casuists, their Canon-Law and Canonists*] Tho, indeed, such a general Assertion without other proof than your Lordship has given, might be sufficiently answer'd with as general a denial, or the plain contradictory position return'd to it.

## S E C T. XXVII.

**T**H E Fifteenth Article of your charge being in these formal words, that *their approved and received Popish Principles free the persons of all Clergy-men, be their Crimes never so great, from all punishment by Kings, or any Lay-Court or Magistrate of what State or Dignity soever*: Let us now see whether the Proofs, you bring for it be any better than those you gave for the last. You begin with alledging again *Fillucius*, and then proceed to *Bulla Cæne*. But these, I think, after what's answer'd to them in the former Article, may very well here be laid aside as nothing. Next, you give us the Canon-Law it self in

two several Canons or Chapters, viz. *cap. Si quis suadente Diabolo. Caus. 17. q. 4.* and *cap. Nullus Judicium. extra. de For. Comp.* and in giving these two Chapters, you plead also the Authority not only of three Popes, *Innocent the II. Gregory the IX. and Gregory the XIII.* but of two Councils too; the one a Council of *Paris*, the other that of *Lateran* under this *Innocent*. Tho, in the mean time it seems your Lordship was very hard put to it for Papal Authorities, both when you alledge here *Gregory the XIII.* as you do him in several other places, only because the last Edition of the Canon-Law (wherein these two Chapters are) was publish'd by his Command and recommended by his Bull prefixt to it; and when you give us also here *Gregory the IX.* as one of your three Popes likewise, only because he was the chief Author of setting out the *Decretals* in which that Chapter *Nullus Judicium* is; for that was all that *Gregory the IX.* had to do with this Canon. Indeed *Innocent the II.* and

(b) This goes under the name of a General Council, having consisted of 1000 Fathers, and condemn'd the heresy of *Peter de Bruis an. 1139.* as *Ludovicus de Bail*, a Parisian Doctor writes in his *summa Conciliorum*.

his Council of (b) *Lateran* is rightly entitled to the former Chapter *Siquis suadente Diabolo*, which is extracted out of the 15th Canon of that Council: and so may your Council of *Paris* be to the other *Nullus Judicium*; seeing the Lemma of it says it was extracted *ex Concilio Parisiensi*. And therefore I leave your Lordship to derive all the advantage you can from either of those two Chapters.

ters. But the mischief is, there's not a word in either against King or Prince, or any Supreme Lord at all. [ *Si quis suadente Diabolo, &c.* If any shall by instigation of the Devil incur this guilt of Sacrilege, to lay violent hands on a Clerk or Monk, let him be under an Anathema, and let none of the Bishops presume to absolve him, save only in the point of death, till he be presented to the Pope and receive his Injunction. ] So, and not a word more of this matter says that former Canon, *Si quis persuadente Diabolo.* Where you see not only the tenour of it has nothing of King, or Prince, or State, or other Supreme Lord, but the reason of it excludes them. For, the violence forbid here must be only that which proceeds from the instigation of the Devil ; and therefore, without any breach of this Canon the Bishop may in many cases of Correction lay violent hands on a disorderly Priest ; and the Abbot, Prior or any other Regular Superiour on his incorrigible Monk. And so do all Casuists, Canonists, Divines, and the general Practice of it too in all places tell us it ought to be : since the necessary Correction of Criminals or Delinquents, especially those that are enormously exorbitant and refractory, as it is always an Act of Justice, and therefore as such, not proceeding from *the instigation of the Devil* ; so it cannot be sometimes perform'd without laying violent hands upon them. And, therefore, the reason it self of this Canon excludes all Kings and Princes &c. from being comprehended in it, when they proceed by way of necessary Justice, even to very death, against



some Criminal Clerks. Nor is there in *cap. Nullus Judicium* any more special words to comprehend Kings or Princes, &c. than we have here, *viz.* Let none of the Judges *prêsume* of himself or by his own Authority, without the Bishop's leave (not the Pope's as your Lordship Translates) to seize or condemn any Priest or Deacon, or Clerk, or any even of the minor Degrees belonging to the Church. If he do, let him be so long Sequester'd from the Church injur'd by him till he acknowledge and amend his fault. For this is all that Canon has; and therefore it has not a word that comprehends Kings or any Supreme Lords; who, as we have seen at large before, are never understood (at least in odious matters or Penal Canons) by the ordinary Title or name of Judges. Nor do I think in my conscience that any learned man before your Lordship has ever alledg'd this Canon as comprehending them: the very *Lemma* of it, [*Judex Secularis, &c.* A Secular Judge, if by his own Authority he seize or condemn a Clerk is to be excommunicated,] being sufficient to shew that it means neither Kings nor Princes, nor any great Lords neither, but only the ordinary inferiour Judges.

But your Lordship has peradventure yet remaining some stronger Proofs to supply the weakness of these two Canons. You quote indeed the Council of Trent in the 8th. Chapter of it's 13 Session *de Reformat.* And again, in the 5th. Chapter of the 24. Session likewise of *Reformation.* And I confess that in the former the Fathers briefly in two Lines decree that the *Caus-*  
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ses of Bishops, when the quality of the Crimes objected to them requires their personal appearance, be referr'd to the Pope and ended by him. And in the later again, and somewhat more clearly, that [ *The more weighty or gricvous criminal Causes of Bishops, even those of Heresy ( which God forbid ) that deserve deposition or privation, be only judg'd and ended by the Roman Pontiff himself.* ] But then your Lordship is mightily out in your inference from these two passages of *Trent*, as if they excluded the Princes in their capacities from the Cognizance of those Crimes of Bishops, wherein themselves, or Crowns, or States are highly concern'd : Or, as if the word [ *tantum* ] only, in the second of them, in the exclusive Sente of it, related to Princes. The Fathers have been so far from any such meaning, that by the very marginal references in the printed Copies of this Council it appears they intended by those decrees only to renew and pursue the *Sardican* Canon for the Appeal and Cognizance of the Causes of Bishops by the Roman Pontiff, when they found themselves oppress'd by factious Provincial or National Synods. And, whatever you may answer to those References, 'tis plain enough that since there is no special exclusion of Princes here, as certainly the *Sardican* Canon it self does not require any such, nor can it be imagin'd the Authors of it under *Constantius* the Emperour thirteen hundred years since could mean any such thing ; therefore the *Tridentine* Fathers here, by the word only exclude, in such more weighty criminal Causes of Bishops, the cognizance only of Provincial, Regional and National Synods, that

formerly us'd both to judge and determine of such very Causes of Bishops, even to suspension often, and Deposition too from their Sees not seldom. I am certain that as this must be the only rational exposition of these *Trent* decrees, nay that which the Council it self in the cloze of the foresaid Fifth Chapter sufficiently shews to be their sense; where it orders, *The lesser criminal Causes of Bishops to be taken cognizance of or ended only in the Provincial Synod, or by the Deputies thereof*: so your Lordship can never prove your own to have been the sense of that Council. But, if your Lordship must needs against all reason still obtrude your own upon us; then you must also be content to hear that answer return'd which you cannot contend with, *viz.* that in such your sense those two Canons ( being they are only, in whatever sense, Canons of meer Discipline ) must be suppos'd to be of those *Tridentine* Canons of Reformation, which all Churches, Countries, Nations of the Roman Communion, out of the Ecclesiastical State, have long since rejected as manifestly entrenching on the supreme Secular Power, even to the utter ruin of it, and subjection of all Crowns and Empires to the absolute will of the Pope. Nor, especially after this answer will it be to any purpose for your Lordship to refer us again ( as you do in your Marginal Note here pag. 106. ) to the foresaid *Profession of Faith*, and tell your Reader, that *all their Ecclesiasticks do promise, vow, and also swear that they will firmly believe all that the Canons and Councils have declar'd concerning these Exemptions*. For, besides that neither all their

*Ecclesiasticks*

*Ecclesiasticks* do make that profession of Faith, or take that Oath (even at least some hundred thousands of them throughout the World, being not concern'd, because not oblig'd by any Canon or Bull to take it:) nor, as I noted before, do those that take it swear they do or *will firmly believe* all that the Canons and Councils have declar'd: it is manifest enough the Swearers intend not to oblige themselves so much as to *receive* those Canons of Discipline, which are by their own respective National Churches, Kingdoms, States, utterly rejected.

And now having answer'd all your Arguments and references too, I'll only add three instances of plain notorious matter of Fact, to shew, as with the beams of the Sun, the manifest Errour of this Fifteenth Article of your charge. The first is, that in *France* the King and his Temporal or secular Courts of Justice take Cognizance of all criminal Causes whatsoever of *Ecclesiasticks*, when the crimes are either *Ryot*, or *Sedition*, or *Heretical Novelty*, much more if they be *Rebellion* or *Treason*; and take cognizance of them too *in prima instantia*, as they call it, before the Ecclesiastical Court meddles with them. Tho', if the *Heresy* charg'd on the criminals be doubtful or controverted, as to the question of Right or nature of it, the cognizance for so much is referr'd to the Spiritual Court. So *Pithovius* Tom. I. p. 839. and, out of him, *Caron de Libert. Eccles. Gallic. pag. 73*. The second is the famous warlike quarrel twixt *Paul* the 5th. and the *State of Venice* in the year



1606. Whereof, one of the two Causes, we know, has been their imprisoning a Canon by their own sole Authority for some mis-demeanour of his, or some affront done by him to a Lady. The third is what *Spondanus* writes of the Great Catholick King of *Spain Philip* the II's inexorable rigour towards the Clergy of *Portugal* in putting such vast numbers of them to death by his own sole Authority. For so (*ad annum Christi* 1581.) that Author tells how this most religious King of *Spain* expressly refused to extend to the religious men of *Portugal* his Act of general Indemnity; which in the general Assembly of the States of that Kingdom, held by himself at *Lisbo* that year, he granted to all those other *Portugeses* who had oppos'd his Title, or his General the Duke d'*Alva*, or who had submitted to the Bastard *Anthony*, Prior of *Crati*; who by the Faction and countenance chiefly of the Church-men of *Portugal* got himself Crown'd. Nay, he farther tells how this great Catholick Prince, even positively in the same Act excluded all the Monks and other Regulars of *Portugal*; tho' besides them he excluded none at all save only the said Usurper *Anthony* (illegitimate Son to Prince *Ludovicus*) and *Franciscus Portugallus* Count *Vimiosi*, and *John* his Brother, Bishop of *Guardia*, and fifty other principal Ring-leaders of *Anthony's* Faction. Moreover, he tells that, notwithstanding the general discontent arising from that Exclusion, and all the frequent expostulations and supplications also to his Catholick Majesty to mitigate this rigour, he could never

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be wrought upon until at least two thousand Priests and Monks had by several kinds of violent death in several places, part within *Portugal* it self, part abroad in the Islands of *Azoras*, been destroy'd in the prosecution of the War against the reliques of *Anthony's* Faction: whereof also (that is, of the Priests and Monks) many were said to have been privately dispatch'd. And yet all this while not only his own Prelates, and Priests and People, nor only forrain Catholick Princes and States, but the Court and Pope himself of *Rome*, communicated with him as before, even in the most holy Rites and Sacraments. Which, at least with the two former instances, must undoubtedly suffice to shew, as with the beams of the Sun, the manifest errour of your Fifteenth Charge as fram'd against the Roman-Catholick Church. Undoubtedly, were it *an approv'd and receiv'd Principle*, in that Church, that the Persons of all Clergy-men, be their Crimes never so great, are free from all punishment by Kings or any Lay-Court or Magistrate, of what State or Dignity soever, we had never read of that rigour of *Philip* the second of *Spain*, nor of the *prima-instantia* practice of *Frances*, nor so much as a word of *Paul* the Fifth's preparing to War on the *Venetians*, and their being too quick for him at that Tryal too.

But, if your Lordship would see more at large not only what else may relate to any of those three Instances, but even to the very merits of your fifteenth Article here, and not of that only neither, but of the other immediately

ly preceding, which comprehends your Thirteenth and Fourteenth Position, I could and accordingly do refer you to my own History of the *Irish Remonstrance*. Wherein I have, in answer to the Censure of the Divines of *Lovain* against that Remonstrance, diffusely handled for a hundred sheets in *Folio* the substance of both your said Articles; and invincibly prov'd against *Bellarmino*, and all his Arguments, and those also of *Dominicus Soto*, *Martinus Ledesma*, *Dominicus Bannes*, *Didacus Covarruvias*, *Franciscus Victoria*, and the whole Tribe of the preoccupied Court of *Rome* Divines, the Doctrine of the Roman-Catholick Church, as to both Articles, to be as I deliver it here. Where also proceeding in a Negative way and solving their Arguments, I shew manifestly there is neither any Divine Law, natural or positive; nor any Human, Civil or Ecclesiastical, for the Exemption of any Ecclesiasticks, either as to their Goods, or as to their Persons, from the Supreme civil coercive Power of the Temporal State. Or, which is the same thing, I shew not only that there is not any one Text of Holy Scripture, or any one Tenet of Apostolical Tradition, or any Canon at all of the Catholick Church, or any kind of passage in the whole civil Law of Emperours, nay, nor so much as (I say not convincing) but probable argument of natural Reason to prove a Power in the Pope or Church, to exempt Clergy-men from the cognizance and coercion of the Supreme Temporal Prince or State: but I shew farther, that never yet *de facto* has either Pope or Church, or Prince or People,

ple, or God or Man, so exempted them either as to their Goods, or as to their Persons. Tho' withal I confess that several Popes have suppos'd 'em in some such manner formerly exempted, either by God himself, or by Man. Of all which, and my Arguments too from Scripture, Tradition, Reason, from the imperial Laws and Canons of the Church, (a) even the very Papal Canons themselves, and, finally, from the Practice also of the whole Earth, where, in the second place I proceed in an Affirmative way against *Bellarmino* and his Associates, Whoever pleases may consult that work of mine from page 233. to 374.

(a) These very Papal Canons, at least eight of them, may be seen at large from p. 355. to p. 370. of the foresaid History.

## S E C T. XXVIII.

**T**H E Sixteenth and Seventeenth Article of your Charge, being also in these other terms of your own, [ *It is a constantly approv'd and receiv'd Doctrine at Rome (tho' evidently impious and Trayterous) that the Clergy and Ecclesiasticks are none of the King's Subjects; nay tht they are Superiour to the King, and he their Subject.* ] I confess your Lordship does both censure it justly, and from the very former part rightly infer the no less undeniable than pernicious consequence of it, viz. that, if they be not Subjects to any Secular Prince, then it is evident that no such Prince can be their King; it being impossible that any man should be King of such Persons who



who are none of his Subjects. And so I must acknowledge the second part to be, as your Lordship says it is, *more yet erroneous and unreasonable*, if understood as your Lordship would have it to be, *viz.* That simply and absolutely in all matters both Spiritual and Temporal, and not *secundum quid*, or in any diminutive, restrain'd, improper sense, relating only to pure Spirituals, and the holy ministerial Function of Priesthood, *the Clergy are Superiour to the King and he their Subject*. Nor have I, nor can I have any quarrel to your Lordship for loading that sense of it with all the Errour and unreasonableness you will. But the unvoidable difference is your saying here expressly, that *both those Popish Positions* (the foresaid first and second part of your Seventeenth Article) *are approved by and generally received in the Church of Rome*; and that here also, as every where else throughout your Book, by *the Church of Rome*, you understand the whole Roman-Catholick Communion where ever spread in any Country on Earth. Tho' in the mean time that sense wherein questionless, you would have your Reader understand the second part, I do not allow, nor can I, to be the sense of that very Canon you quote for it. And yet a man would think that in charging so great a Church as the *Roman-Catholick* is, with an Article so grievously exorbitant as to both parts of it, your Lordship should not rely neither on a mistaken sense, nor on any false, or vain, or frivolous insignificant Proofs. But, whether you have, or have not, will best appear by the Proofs themselves. The Summ  
of

of which, as I gave it before (Section 11th.) I repeat here again to ease the Reader from turning back so far. That (promiscuously for both parts of this Article) you alledge the *Lemma* or the Title of *cap. Sollicitæ. extra. de major. & obed.* and *Innocent the III.* in that Chapter; and then *Panormitan* upon it, and *Bernardus de Btano's* Gloss of it, and *Laurentius de Flisco's* addition to him. And after them *Martin the V. cap. Ad reprimendas. de for. comp. in 7.* and the *Lemma* of this Chapter too; and *Vr' VI. cap. quia. de for. comp. in 7.* Besides, you alledge Cardinal *Cajetan* in *Aquinate*, and the Colledge of *Bononia* in their answer for Ecclesiastical liberty, printed at *Bononia. An. 1607.* And then, after all, in a Marginal note *Leo the X.* in his general Council of *Lateran*; as may be seen not only in *cap. Et quia. de For. comp.* but in *Cap. Statuimus. de invasor. & occupator. bon. Eccl. in 7.*

Now, what I have to say to these Proofs or Testimonies as you call 'em, is, (1.) That in the very first of them, your Lordship gives an Adversary all the advantage his own heart can desire. Your words are these: [ In the Body of their Canon-Law of their most correct Edition, and as such publish't by the Authority of *Gregory the XIII.* we find these words, (a) *The Empire is not Superiour but subject to the Priesthood.* And yet there follows (b) immediately, *The Bishop ought not to be Subject but Superiour to Princes.* And that all may take notice of this Position, it is there added, *Pope Innocent the III.*

(a) *Imperium non præest Sacerdotio sed subest. Lemma. ad cap. sollicitæ 60. de major & obed.*  
(b) *Episcopus non debet subesse Principibus sed præesse. Ibid.*

says this, and it is fit to be Alledg'd much ( for the Pope's Supremacy he means. ) ] And this is the whole of

your

your first Argument, or first sort of Testimonies here. Only you embellish it, (1.) with *Panormitan's* doctrine on that Chapter of *Innocent*, as being more expresse and full to your purpose. (2.) With *Bernardus de Botano* and *Laurentius de Flisco's* extravagant notion of the Pontifical Powers being now forty seven times, now seven thousand seven hundred forty four times greater than the Imperial; only because *Innocent* in that Chapter says, *The Pope's power is as much greater than the Emperour's, as the Sun is greater than the Moon.* But, after all this diverting embellishment, your positive assertion it self of the *Body of their Canon-Law*, &c. can be no other than a very wilfull equivocation, at best. Your Lordship knows the Summ of any Chapter of the Law, prefixt to it, is no part of it; nay sometimes is contrary to it, through the ignorance, or prejudice, or mistake, or hast of the Summist. As it happen'd in the Summ of this very Chapter of *Innocent*. Only in which Summ or Title those words you quote are, viz. *The Empire is not Superiour, but subject to the Priesthood; and, The Bishop ought not to be Subject but Superiour to Princes.* You know that, in the sense especially your Lordship would have them understood, they are expressly contradicted by the Contents of that very Chapter they pretend to Summ; which is *cap. Sollicitæ. extra. de major. & obed.* being part of a Letter of *Innocent's* answering another of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who was then *Baldwyn Earl of Flanders*. You know 'tis that *Innocent* himself who in this very Chapter speaks thus to that Emperour.

We

[We do not deny that the Emperour excels in *Temporals* them only who receive *Temporals* from him: but the Pontiff (or Bishop) excels him in *Spirituals* which are by so much more worthy than *Temporals*, by how much the Soul is prefer'd to the Body. And therefore you know also the true sense of those two sayings, which you exaggerate so much and startle you Reader with, is no other by the Testimony of *Innocent* himself in that very Chapter you quote, than that in *Spirituals* the Empire does not excel but gives place to the Priesthood, and the Emperour to the Bishop; but on the other side in *Temporals* the very Bishops themselves, who receive their own *Temporals* from the Emperour, acknowledge him to excel. Nor can you but know that no where else in that long Chapter has *Innocent* a word to the contrary. As neither indeed has he therein ought else but meer Dispute, answering that Emperour's Arguments, and endeavouring (as I have elsewhere observ'd) by all the Topicks he can, to persuade him to use the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, with that respect at least which other Kings did shew their Bishops, and not suffer so honourable a member of the Church to sit on the left side of his Foot-stool. To obtain which was the whole design (at least pretence) of that Letter, and the cause that made him to apply out of *Genesis* the Creation of the two great Luminaries, the lesser enlightening

*Non negamus quin præcellat Imperator in Temporalibus illos duntaxat qui ob eo suscipiunt Temporalia. Sed Pontifex in Spiritualibus antecedit, quæ tanto sunt Temporalibus digniora quanto Anima præfertur Corpori.*



enlightening the Night, and the Greater, the Day, to the two Dignities that govern the World, viz. the Regal and the Pontifical; the one presiding over *Carnal* things, and the other over *Spiritual*; and this being ( says he ) by so much greater than the other by how much the Sun excels the Moon. A similitude which *Innocent* might have learned from, or imitated in a *Persian* King some six or seven hundred years before, writing to an Emperour of *Constantinople*, [ *Vid. Hist. Bizant.* ] and comparing the two Empires of the Earth, the *Persian* and the *Roman* to those two great luminaries of heaven; but likening the *Persian* to the Sun, and the *Roman* to the Moon only. But, passing over these incidental matters, what I finally conclude out of that Chapter of *Innocent* is, that your Lordship having read it must have seen these two things; ( 1. ) That your positive Assertion here, viz. [ *In the Body of their Canon-Law, &c.* ] could be no other at best than a very wilfull equivocation, to persuade the Reader that any thing contain'd in any *Lemma* or *Summ*, how imperfect or false soever, prefixt to a Chapter of the *Canon-Law*, must either be Law, or at least may be truly said to be *in the Body of their Canon-Law*: because ( forsooth ) those *Lemma's* or *Summs* are in the same Volume with the Law. ( 2. ) That the obvious distinction of *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, which the Author of your *Lemma* omitted, but you saw was in the Text, would in two words have prevented all the noise and loud din, which your Lordship's use of the *Lemma* has rais'd.

( 2. ) That, as to your second Argument  
or

or Testimony, which is that of *Martin* the V. *cap. ad reprimendas. de For. comp.* in your beloved 7th. because in answering before all the Chapters alledg'd by you out of the true or pretended Canon-Law for the deposing Power, I have particularly observ'd that *Martin* the V. in this Chapter has not a Syllable for the exemption of Ecclesiasticks from any Supreme Lay- Power on Earth ; nor, indeed, for any Exemption of them at all but, that which was granted by the Secular Princes and States themselves to be from inferiour lay-Judges only : Therefore I need say no more of this Testimony ; altho' but now in answer to your former Testimony from *Innocent* the III. I judg'd it expedient to repeat what I had elsewhere answer'd to the allegation of his *cap. Sollicite.* for the deposing Power. But as to your additional Testimony of *Urban* the VI. here, and his *cap. Quia. de For. comp.* likewise in 7. because he was not quoted by you elsewhere, I answer ( not that he was an Anti-pope, tho' he was so indeed ; nor that this *cap. Quia.* is no Canon-Law, as neither is the former *cap. ad reprimendas.* of *Martin* the V. it being well known that *Septimus Decretalium* wherein they are, is not yet Canoniz'd, tho' your Lordship here, as elsewhere, still quotes it for good Canon Law ; but I answer ) that *Urban* in this Chapter of his entrenches not on the Power of either Emperour, King, State or any Supreme Lord on Earth. That is, he pretends not the Clergy to be exempt from any such Power, but only from the power of all kind of Lay-Subjects, whether Lords of Cities, Ca-

files, Towns or Lands wherein they exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction under whatsoever Title either of *Powers*, or *Consuls*, or *Captains*, or *Aldermen*, &c. or of *Barons*, *Counts*, *Marquesses*, *Dukes*, or, finally, even of *Princes*; for such *Princes* there are many in *Italy* and *elsewhere* that are no absolute Supreme Lords, but meer Subjects. And, therefore, he ascends no higher, nor says a word either of Emperour, King, State or any Supreme Lord, nay nor of any Kingdom neither. Whereby, as we may rationally conclude this decree of his extended only to the Ecclesiastical State: so it is however sufficiently clear that both by *Princes* he meant only such as were properly Subjects: and that a little after where he commands all persons of *whatever preeminence, dignity, State or condition they be*, under pain of Excommunication and Interdict, to forbear molesting the Clergy against their known Priviledges of Exemption; those words (albeit the words your Lordship lays your whole stress upon) *preeminence, dignity, state or condition*, in their latitude or extent here do not reach to any Supreme Lord. Besides that, without any further addition, they are by the ordinary Style and practice of the Roman Court it self insufficient expressions to comprehend Emperours, Kings, States or other Supreme Lords, in Penal ordinances.

(3.) That I grant your Lordship freely, without any contradiction, what you alledge in the next place to be the doctrine of Cardinal *Cajetan*: nay and to strengthen this your Third Argument or Testimony, allow you, tho

tho' you thought not on him, another Cardinal too, I mean *Robert Bellarmine*, not only in his very last Recognition of his great work of Controversies, but in his special Book or Treatise *de potestate Papæ in Temporalibus*; writ in his old days against *William Barclay*: and, consequently, allow you likewise all *Bellarmin's* downright followers on the point; if, peradventure he has any so high flown as to exempt Clergymen by the Laws of Nature, and Laws of Nations, and positive Laws of God in holy Scripture, and those of Man too, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, from all the very most Supreme Lay-powers on Earth. For so *Bellarmino* himself does all Ecclesiasticks, both in goods and persons. See him *lib. 1. de Clericis cap. 28. & 29. Recognit. ultima*, and again, *Tractatus de potestate Papæ in Temporalibus cap. 35.* And see withal, if you please, the *History of the Irish Romonstrance*, pag. 163. & *sequentibus*.

(4) That, however, I may also grant no less freely (tho' I have not the Book to examine the particulars) what your Lordship alleges for a fourth Argument or Testimony out of that Answer of the Colledge of *Bononia* for Ecclesiastical Liberty, printed there *An. 1607.* and, consequently may grant those very three Assertions to be theirs which you attribute to them; whereof the last is in these words, *The Exemption of the Clergy is in the judgment of All (all Papists they mean, say you) of divine Right, so that they cannot be judg'd or punish'd by any Secular, no not Supreme Powers*; yet, (1.) I cannot admit your exposition or extension here of their word



*All* to all Papists; whereas indeed they mean only all Writers or Doctors, as the usual Custom of Schoolmen is to understand only such by *All*, in such kind of references to them; tho' many of them often without any ground, nay against all truth, attribute so their own Doctrine to *All*, even there where at least the far greater part of the very Church her self is manifestly and notoriously against them: as without question it was and is in this matter of Ecclesiastical Exemption against those *Bononian* Colledge Answerers. Nor, ( 2. ) nay much less, can I admit either of your two Triumphant Consequences, by occasion of the foresaid *All* inferr'd by your Lordship here; where you desire the Reader to consider, [ That the Ecclesiasticks ( Secular and Regular ) are in the opinion of *All Roman-Catholicks* by the Law of God so exempted from the Jurisdiction of all Secular ( even Supreme ) Powers that they can neither judge nor punish them. Whence it evidently follows, ( 1. ) That the *Popish Clergy* wherever they are ( especially in *England* and *Protestant Kingdoms* ) are no Subjects of that King in whose Dominions they live, because they are by the Law of God exempt from all Secular Jurisdiction: It being a contradiction to say that any man is a King in respect of those over whom he has no Jurisdiction. And, ( 2. ) it follows that this impious and traitorous Doctrine and Position, is not the opinion of some one or a few private Persons, but of *All Roman-Catholicks*, and so of their Popish Church; and their Church ( by their own confession ) is guilty of maintaining and approving such dangerous, and to all ( especially Protestant ) Kings, pernicious Principles; Q. E. D. ] So concludes your Lordship here triumphantly as if you had demonstrated your point. Indeed a great Cry, but little Wool, or rather none at all; unless peradventure, you can espouse either of these two manifest notorious Falsities, ( 1. ) That the said

*Bononian*

*Bononian* Colledge alone made up the whole Universality of all Roman-Catholicks, at least Writers or Doctors, in the World. ( 2. ) That this consequence must be clear in reason; those *Bononians* answer'd that all Catholicks held so and so, concerning Ecclesiastical Exemption; Ergo it must be true that *All Catholicks* did hold so. And yet never could the contrary be more notoriously manifest than it was throughout *Europe* at that very time; and on the very occasion of that Answer of the *Bononian* Colledge, which was no other than the quarrel of Pope *Paul* the Fifth against the *Venetians* for their pretended breach of Ecclesiastical immunity or liberty, as in other matters so particularly in their seizing the *Chanon* we spoke of before. An occasion and a time in which not only such a number of learned Catholick Doctors did publickly appear in the Pulpit and Press against the Exemption of Clergy-men from the Supreme Secular Power; but all the Catholick Princes and States of *Europe* did so far joyn, at least in justifying the *Venetians*, that the Pope was forc't to truckle and put up in their Sheaths again both his Swords, without other satisfaction had from the *Venetians* than that which their Divinity, & Canons, and Reason, and History, and a smart Army withal prepar'd by 'em to defend their Cause, did give him. All which if your Lordship had consider'd, tho' I know not certainly what you would have done, this however I am certain that you ought not have so triumph't neither in your *Q. E. D.* nor consequently in either of those preceding Inferences

of your own, which have no other evidence to ground 'em than that random word *All*, of men who must have said many things at random in that quarrel to please their angry Pope, in whose very Temporal as well as Spiritual Jurisdiction their Colledge and City was.

(5.) To your Marginal note here (*pag. 101.*) intended by you as an Appendix to your four precedent Proofs or Testimonies, and giving us the Authority of *Leo* the Tenth and his *Laceran* Council in *cap. Et quia. de For. comp. & cap. Statuimus. de inuasor. & occupator. bon. Eccles.* both in 7. I might answer (1.) That your alledging the *Lemma* of that former Chapter *Et quia.* to be *That the Constitutions publish'd against Secular Princes who hinder the liberty of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, are innovated*, signifies nothing at all to your purpose: Not only because no *Lemma* is Law or Proof; but, because this in particular has not a word importing the Exemption of Clerks from the *Supreme* Secular Power: and because also the Church might justly renew the former Ecclesiastical Constitutions made for the just observance of those Exemptions of Clergy-men that were legally granted by the Secular Princes themselves, and were not yet repeal'd by the same power: nay and might under Ecclesiastical Censures too even justly command whatever Secular Princes, tho' *Supreme*, to observe those Exemptions while their own Laws were for 'em; and yet command nothing against the subjection of Clerks to their *Supreme Lay-Power*. (2.) That, in this Chapter *Et quia* it self, akho' your Lordship says here 'tis  
*declar'd*

declar'd that no power is given to Lay-men over Clerks and Ecclesiastical persons and their Goods, there is no Declaration at all of this matter; unless, against all reason, you'll have a Supposition or Reason given for a Command that follows to be a Declaration. For the words are these and only these, which you must relate unto. *Attendentes igitur, &c. Attending therefore that, no power is given to Lay-men over Clerks, &c.* which are very far from the words or Style of a Declaration, properly such. (3.) That, were this a proper strict Declaration, yet still there is not a word in it against other than *Laicks* in general; and, consequently, nothing against those Powers that are *Supreme*, tho' otherwise Lay. (4.) That the very same, both as to the point of any such Declaration, and to that also of the meaning, extension or comprehension of the word [*Laicks*] may be answer'd to *cap. Statuimus*, the other Chapter of *Leo* your Lordship quotes here, where he speaks thus: [*Et, cum a jure tam Divino quam humano Laicis potestas nulla in Ecclesiasticas personas attributa sit, innovamus, &c.* And whereas there is no power given to *Laicks* over Ecclesiastical Persons neither by Divine nor Human Law, we renew, &c. For, whatever *Leo's* meaning here by Divine or Human Law be; or, whether by Divine he mean only the Canons of the Church, and by Human the Constitutions of Secular Princes only, 'tis plain he neither declares but only suppose, that no such Power was given to *Laicks*; nor does he add to the common word [*Laicks*] any special expression to comprehend Kings or other *Supreme Lords*. And, indeed, these four



particulars I might even truly and justly return in full answer to all that's urg'd or objected in your said Marginal note of those two Decrees of *Leo the Tenth* in his Council of *Lateran*.

But, nevertheless, considering ( 1. ) That in both of them all kind of Papal Constitutions issu'd at any time for Ecclesiastical Immunity, are expressly renew'd ; and even the Emperour, Kings, Princes, States, &c. most strictly commanded under Holy Obedience in the First, under Excommunication and interdict, in the Second, to observe them all indistinctly, and cause all their Subjects to do the same. ( 2. ) That in the second of 'em, ( *viz. cap. Statuimus* ) all those very Extravagants, and other Constitutions of Popes that were not only never receiv'd in use or practice, but never so much as known, are likewise expressly renew'd : Nay, that so is the *Bulla Cane* too it self by it's own peculiar name : And, which yet may seem stranger ; even *Reprizals* granted against the very Emperours, Kings, Princes, Republicks, &c. who detain any Goods or Possessions of any Church or Prelate ; on any, pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the *Roman Bishop* ; and authority given to seize so much of theirs by open force. ( 3. ) That these are other guess objections than any your Lordship has here observ'd : Therefore, what I do finally answer to those two Chapters or Decrees of *Leo the X.* is, That, neither is the Authority of *Petrus Massenus* ( a private Canonist of *Lyons* ) big enough to make either of them pass for Canon

non Law by his inserting them in his *Liber Septimus Decretalium*, which your Lordship quotes for 'em; nor was that *Lateran* Council of *Leo* ever yet of that esteem as to be receiv'd in *France* either for a *General*, or a binding, good or true Synod in any sense at all. Whereof had we no other proof in the notorious doctrine and practice of the whole *Gallican* Church ever since that *Lateran* sate or ended, the very Appeal of the University of *Paris* An. 1517. die 27. mensis Martii, from *Leo* and his *Concordata Bononiensis*, interpo'd by them to a future General Council, does furnish more than Evidence. Where those Appellants daign not that *Lateran* of *Leo* with so much as the name of a Council; which may be seen by their own words in the Margent here; (a) as likewise may the whole Appeal at large in *Richerius's* History of General Councils, lib. 4. part. 2. p. 84. & sequentibus, Edit. Colon. An. 1683. Besides, I answer that even the most can be said for those two decrees of *Leo's*, is their being past in that Council as meer Canons of Discipline; the very tenour of them not admitting any pretence to their being made for Canons of Faith. And therefore none can pretend

(a) Donec advenit Leo P. P. decimus, qui Romanis plus debito favens, in quodam cœtu, in Romanâ civitate, quæ contra nos est, nescimus qualiter, non tamen in Spiritu Domini congregato ( cum quo nihil contra legem Divinam & sacra concilia statui, decerni aut ordinari potest; opera enim quæ ego facio testimonium perhibent de me ) præmissa tum salutifera statuta abroganda esse ( nescimus quo fretus consilio ) censuit, & contra Fidem Catholicam

& Authoritatem Sacrorum Conciliorum veniendo, Sacrum Basilien-  
concilium damnavit. Appellat. Univers. Paris. An. 1517. 27  
Martii facta.

for 'em, their not being subject to the common Fate of all Canons of meer *Discipline*, to be rejected by the respective national Churches where they see reason for it. And farther yet I answer; that either those two Decrees of *Leo* contain somewhat entrenching on the Supreme Jurisdiction of Lay-Princes, or they do not: If they do, then certainly they are, at least for so much, rejected every where out of the *Ecclesiastical State* of the Church, or the Pope's own Territories (as is prov'd at large before) as not only the *Liber Sextus Decretalium* of *Boniface* the VIII. and the Decretals of *Gregory* the IX. and all other Chapters of the Canon-Law, but the very decrees of the most sacred Oecumenical-Council it self of *Trent*, are, wherever they entrench on that Supreme Temporal Power. If they do not, then I demand why or to what purpose your Lordship alledges 'em for your Seventeenth Article here or the Exemption of Clerks, &c?

(6.) And, lastly, to the whole Summ of these Five sorts of Proofs or Testimonies alledg'd by you for the said weighty grievous Article, this I have to say, that surely the doctrine of so small and inconsiderable a number, respectively taken, as one Cardinal, *Cajetan*; one Canonist, *Panormitan*; two Glossatours, *Bernardus de Botano* & *Laurentius de Flisco*; one Colledge of *Bononia*, and four Popes (were they so many as we have seen they were not) *Innocent* the III., *Martin* the V. *Urban* the VI. and *Leo* the X. and one little Lateran Council of no repute, granted to have really been for the absolute

lute and plenary Exemption of Ecclesiasticks from the very most Supreme Lay-Power on Earth, must, after all, make but a miserable Proof to conclude the Doctrine of the whole Roman-Catholick Church to be the same. We have seen before how, even since the days of Gregory the VII. himself, Ten thousand Doctors of that Church in all Ages, have, both in Theory and Practice maintain'd the contrary Sentiments to death. And your Lordship knows, if you know any thing of the Catholick world abroad, that much more at this present does the great diffused Body of Roman-Catholicks every where, at least out of the little Temporal Territories of the Pope, religiously follow them against the Court of *Rome*. And, therefore, what after all your said former Five Proofs or Testimonies, your Lordship adds in confirmation of 'em (calling it a greater Authority than that of *Bononia*) viz. the Expurgation or blotting out of the Index of *Chrysostom* (printed at *Basil* 1558.) those words, [*Sacerdotes etiam Principibus jure divino subditi*; Priests by the Law of God subject even to Princes, and that by authority of both the *Spanish* and *Portugal* Inquisitors: can signify no more in the *Roman-Catholick* Church than that those Expurgators and Inquisitors were certainly, (at least for so much) very bad, erroneous, corrupt men; their Holy Office abused by them, and their unlimited Power render'd both odious and infamous among all that come to know of such private wicked practices of theirs. For the rest, or as to their Authority's being greater than that of *Bononia*; 'tis so



so far otherwise, that, laying aside their Pursuivants, and Apparitors and Executioners, and Prisons like Hell, and the cruel Laws and armed Power that supports them, their Authority is less than that of the least divinity School any where in all that Church. Nor can your self with any colour deny this to be so, when you consider that the very Supreme Tribunal of that Holy Office at *Rome*, tho' by the Popes themselves declar'd to be not only over all other Tribunals thereof, but ( in matters belonging to their Cognizance ) *over the whole Christian Republick*; is, nevertheless, of so little Authority abroad, that in *France* none of it's decrees are either receiv'd or valu'd. Concerning which *Launoy* may again be read where I quoted him before to the same purpose.

### S E C T. XXVIII.

**T**H E Eighteenth and last of all those Popish Principles which you charge on the Roman-Catholick Church, is, That *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, but that any competent Ecclesiastical Judge may condemn and execute them ( or those who are reputed such ) notwithstanding any safe Conduct given them by the Emperour, Kings, or Secular Princes, tho confirm'd by Oath.* And your Proofs are ( 1. ) The Declaration made by the Council of Constance Sess. 19. in these words [ *Quod non obstantibus &c. That notwithstanding any safe Conducts of the Emperour, Kings and Secular Princes, by what Tye soever they had obliged themselves, Heretical wickedness might be inquir'd into, (or taken Cognizance*

nizance of ) by a competent Judge. ( 2. ) The Condemnation and Execution of *John Hus* in the Fifteenth Session, and of *Hierome of Prague* in the one and twentieth Session, notwithstanding the Emperours safe conduct, without which they would not have come to that Council. ( 3. ) That those Fathers of *Constance*, Synodically define and declare that all Hereticks, and all their followers of both Sexes, as also all that defend 'em, or in any manner, publicly or hiddenly, participate with them, even Kings, Queens, Dukes, and all others of whatever Ecclesiastical or Secular dignity, &c. shall be excommunicated and depriv'd of all their goods and Secular dignities, and otherwise also punish't even by seizure and imprisonments, &c. For so says your Lordship ( pag. 114. ) partly in your own *English* words, and partly in the *Latin* of your Marginal note, which you quote as the Text of that Council Sess. 45.

Now, to let your Lordship see what value I have for these three Proofs, and what I can truly and on very good grounds answer; I say first in general, That not only every one of them does even plainly and manifestly impose on the Reader, but none of all signifies ought else. And to prove this by Induction, I say in the next place that so does in particular, ( 1. ) The first of 'em : whereof we need no farther evidence than the genuin words of your Article, and of this your first Proof ; and lastly of the decree it self of *Constance* at large. Your Article says, the Roman-Catholick Church holds that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, but that*  
any

any competent Ecclesiastical Judge may condemn and execute them, &c. Your first proof is only these few Latin words which you give in a Marginal reference to the Council of Constance Sess. 19. without any Translation, but however with an, &c. in the end of them, thus; *Quod, non obstantibus salvis conductibus Imperatoris, Regum & seculi Principum, cuocunq; vinculo se obstrinxerint, possit per judicem competentem de hæreticâ pravitate inquiri, &c.* In English these, as I render'd them before, that, notwithstanding any safe conducts of the Emperour, Kings and Secular Princes, by what Tye soever they had oblig'd themselves, Heretical wickedness may be inquir'd into by a competent Judge, &c. Where yet we see not a Syllable of your [and execute.] And the Latin decree and Declaration it self at large, whereunto you only refer us is precisely of this following Tenour in English: [The present Holy Synod declares that from any safe Conduct whatsoever, given by the Emperour, Kings and other Secular Princes, to Hereticks, or such as lye under the infamous Aspersi-  
 on of Heresy, thinking by such means to reclaim 'em from their Errors, whatever Tye they have bound themselves in, no prejudice does arise either to the Catholick Faith or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, nor can nor ought any be derived thence to render it unlawful for a Competent and Ecclesiastical Judge, notwithstanding the said safe Conduct, to inquire into the Errors of such persons, and otherwise duly proceed against them, and even punish them, so far as Justice shall allow, if they pertinaciously refuse to recant their Errors; yea altho relying on their safe Conduct, they came to the place of Judgment and would not otherwise have come. Neither does the Promiser (or giver of such safe Conduct) when he has done what lay in him, remain oblig'd in any thing at all.] So, exactly, the very words of that Declaration it self at large, to which you refer us. But here, neither, is there a word importing any such matter as if any competent Ecclesiasti-

cal Judge might not only condemn, but *execute* Hereticks. For, sure your Lordship knows, tho' it be said here, that a competent Ecclesiastical Judge *may punish 'em too*; yet no punishment decree'd by an Ecclesiastical Judge can signify or come neer that which our English word [ *execute* ] does import; this being death, nay death by Fire, when it relates to Hereticks. You know that Excommunication and Degradation ( if the Criminal be a Clerk ) and ( whatever he be ) imprisonment and Irons are all the punishments Ecclesiastical Judges can either inflict or pronounce: the former two by a meer and pure Church-power derived from Christ, if in Degradation no corporal force intervene: the two later, by the Concession of Princes and Laws of the Land, giving them power to imprison and shackle such Criminals, for a little time. And your Lordship farther knows this time to be so little and short, as to continue only till the Criminals be either clear'd or condemn'd by the Ecclesiastical Judge; and that, if they be condemn'd; they are presently deliver'd over to the Secular Power; the Church having no more to do with them as to matter of any kind of Punishment. And therefore 'tis plain your first Proof not only imposes on the Reader; but signifies nothing else to your purpose. For, certainly, ( as any one may see ) in this decree or Declaration of *Constance*, there is not a word implying that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; the whole Tenour of it asserting only the Spiritual Jurisdiction, in matters belonging properly ( whether by Divine or Hu-



*man Law* ) to its Cognizance ; and as far as they so belong, to be wholly independent from the Secular ; yea, notwithstanding any promise or engagements of Secular Princes made even by safe Conducts to Hereticks. Not a word declaring that either Councils, or Princes, or any other ought not, or were not bound to perform, as much as in them lyes what they promise by safe Conduct or otherwise to them : or that they might chuse to perform or not. Whence it must follow that, as your Lordship may be very justly expostulated with for your saying here, ( as you do, in *Italick* too ) *That their own Genrral Council of Constance has approv'd and publickly declar'd and profess'd that impious and to Supreme Princes pernicious doctrine ;* so this saying of yours being in effect your first Proof, can signify nothing else but to impose on your Reader.

( 2. ) That, so does your Second Proof impose, yea and manifoldly too impose upon him: witness those other genuin words of yours that make up the whole of it. *viz. [ Their own General Council of Constance, which condemn'd and executed Hierom of Prague and John Hus, notwithstanding the Emperour's safe Conduct, without which they would not have come to that Council. ]* Good God ! so much Art in so few words ! that to persuade a most notorious Calumny to be true, the Reader is thrice at least impos'd upon. ( 1. ) By your saying here also expressly that that Council both condemn'd and *executed Hierom of Prague and John Hus,* Whereas it is notoriously manifest the Fathers of that Council did only

only condemn them of Heresie, not sentence them at all to Death, much less *execute them*, or otherwise by Fact or Word authorise the *execution* of them. Nay, it is likewise manifest they could not; the Church having no power of Life or Death, or so much as the mutilation of a member, or spilling one drop of Blood. Besides, what can more evidently prove that they neither *could* nor *did*, then that presently after *John Huss* had by their order been degraded in their own presence by the Arch-Bishop of *Milan* and five other Bishops ( *Feltrensis, Astensis, Alexandrinus, Bagarenfis* and *Vaurensis* ) they decreed the delivery of him over to the Secular Power in these words [ *Hec Sancta Synodus, &c. This Holy Synod of Constance considering that the Church has nothing more she can do in this matter, decrees John Huss to be left to Secular Judgment, and given over to the Secular Court.* ] And, therefore, it was not the General Council of *Constance*, but the Imperial Authority of *Sigismund* that both sentenced him first, and, soon after him, *Hierom of Prague*, to dye; and accordingly did warrant, command and see the Execution of 'em' both performed. And, indeed, the History of the procedure against 'em' both tells particularly as to *John Huss*, that no sooner was he declar'd by the Council left to the Secular Court, than the Emperour calling to the Duke of *Bavier*, commanded him in these words [ *Vade & recipe eum* ] Go and receive him; and the Duke obeying did thereupon receive him, and immediately put him into the hands of the Executioners.

2. By your intimating next, and expressing your self so as any Reader must judge your meaning to be, that both of them had the *Emperour's Safe-Conduct*. And yet neither by any History of them, nor by the Acts of the Council it self, does ought appear of other Safe-Conduct granted for *Hierom of Prague* than the Council's own, such as it was, in their citation of him, and is deliver'd us in the Sixth Session of that Council as I give it here in *English*: [*Sacro sancta Synodus. &c.* The most Holy Synod of *Constance*, making a General Council, gather'd together faithfully in the Holy Ghost, representing the Universal Church Militant, to *Hierom of Prague*, who writes and pretends himself a Master in Arts of very many Studies, wishing all that's right to Sobriety and not to be wiser than is fitting. Know that a certain Writing, as in your name, on that Sunday wherein was sung in the Church *Quasi modo geniti*, &c. affixt to the doors of the Church of this City of *Constance*, is come to our knowledge. In which you say you are ready to answer publicly all Detractors who shall object to you the crimes of Error and Heresie, whereof you are manifoldly defamed before us, and chiefly of the Doctrine of *John Wickleff*, as likewise of other Doctrines against the *Catholick Faith*, if a safe and secure Conduct for coming be given you. And, because it is more principally our concern to catch the little Foxes that endeavour to destroy the Vineyard of the Lord: therefore your Person, as being suspected, and by Common Fame manifoldly tainted with Teaching and Asserting rashly many Errours, We call and summon by the Tenour of these Presents: that within fifteen Days next following the Date hereof, five of which we prefix and Assign for the First; Five for the Second; and the Last five for the Third and Peremptory Term, and Canonical Monition, you appear in the Publick Session of this Holy Council, if on that day there happen a Session to be, otherwise the first following Day that shall have one, to answer according to the Tenour of your own Writing, all that any one or more shall Object to you in the Cause of Faith: and receive, and do in all things

[ *Justitia*

[ *Justitia complementum* ] according to the Rules or full measure of *Justice*. To which end, for securing you from Violence [ *Justitiâ semper salutâ* ] *Justice* still preserv'd inviolate, We offer and also fully Assign you by these Presents, all our safe Conduct as far as lies in Us, and the Orthodox Faith requires : certifying, nevertheless, That whether you appear or not within that Term, so soon as it is over, you shall be proceeded against by the Sacred Council or its Commissaries or Commissary, and that your Contumacy shall not in any thing be an obstacle to them. Dated at *Constance* in the Session of the General Council, on the 17<sup>th</sup> day of the Moneth of *April*, under the Seal of the Presidents of the Four Nations. ] And such indeed, and no other, was the safe Conduct of *Hierom of Prague*. Which as it was not from the Emperour, but from the Council; so it was not for his safe return back thither from whence he came, but onely for his safe coming any time within the days prefixt to *Constance*, and for the rest in plain termes letting him fairly know before hand, what he was to expect or trust to. And therefore *his* safe Conduct can do your Lordship no Service at all.

(3.) By your adding that *without the Emperours safe Conduct*, neither of them *would have come to that Council*. For, besides what we have seen just now in the Citation of the Council, and a little before, of *Hierom of Prague*, Historians tell us, That *Spondanus ad an 1414.* even *John Huss* himself, and that without any safe Conduct, and publicly too in great Pomp, accompanied with Three *Borhemian* Barons, and a numerous Train of other Friends, began his Journey from *Prague* to *Constance* on the 13th. of *October, 1414*; that is, three days before the very Date of the Emperour's safe Conduct, and, consequently, many  
 I i 2 days



dayes more before he receiv'd it. That as both, he and *Hierom* of *Prague* had done at home at *Prague* by Papers affixt up in three Languages, the *Latin*, *German*, and *Bohemian* : so in his Journey all along *Germany* in every great Town affixing Papers in *Latin* and *Higb Dutch*, he gave notice to all men, that he was going to the General Council to justifie himself against all Accusers. That he arrived at *Constance* the Third of *November* next following ; that is, Three dayes before the First Session of the Council was held, and liv'd there with all freedom till the 28th. almost a whole Moneth. That as for *Hierom* of *Prague's* particular, he not onely *would have come without the Emperours safe Conduct*, but actually, tho' privately, and accompany'd onely with one Scholar, *did come to Constance on Easter Monday* next following without any safe Conduct at all, even so much as from the Council it self : and, that on the 6th. day after he fix'd on the Door of *St. Stephen's Church* in that City, the Writing that gave occasion to the Council to summon him, and offer and assign him withall that safe Conduct of their own, which we have now seen. So wonderfull Confident was both *He*, and *Husz*. Yea, so much did they both rely on their own Learning, Eloquence, Wit, Cause ; nay so mightily were they concern'd to maintain their own Credit, chiefly with their *Bohemian* Followers at home ; that they *would even without the Emperours safe Conduct venture to that Council* ; at least, particularly, that so *would*, and so did *Hierom* of *Prague* what has been now related of him.

Which

Which I think enough to make good my Third Instance of your second Proofs imposing on the Reader, *That without the Emperours Safe-Conduct, they would not* (that is, neither of them, if I understand your meaning, *would*) *have come to that Council.* And yet, I confess, they would not willingly afterwards stand the tryal of their Cause, but fled away from *Constance* privately both of them, tho' at several times, before 'twas try'd; and *Hierom* of *Prague* in so much disorder and haste, that after affixing his Paper (as before) to Saint *Stephen's* Church, he would neither expect the Councils Answer to it, nor so much as go back to his Lodging for his Sword, but left it there behind him. Nor was he heard of any more till he was taken some six days after, (in *Sylva Constantiensis*, says one Author, in *Sylva Bohemica*, says *Spondanus*) on the Borders of *Bohemia*. Where, discoursing at a Parish Priest's Table, he gave the Council no better Character than that of *The Synagogue of Satan, and School of the Devil*; boasting withal that he and *Huss* had victoriously triumpht over them; yea, had render'd them all, both Prelats and Doctors, as mute as Fishes; and that, to attest this, he had Letters sign'd and seal'd with full seventy Seals. I acknowledge also that both of 'em in their flight being taken, (for so was *John Huss* too not far from *Constance*, tho' four Months before *Hierom* of *Prague's* flight) and now together in restraint, were at last perswaded to recant, and accordingly did by word of mouth recant all their Errours, promising withal not only to sign and

seal their Recantation, but to send their own Letters with it to the Barons of *Bohemia*. And all this in outward appearance done by them so heartily, that all the Bells in *Constance* rung for joy; and the Council decreed an honourable Retirement for them in some Monastery of *Suevia*, with a good Pension, and two Servants for each of 'em there. Nay, I acknowledge that after the execution of *Huss* in *July* the same year, *Hierom* of *Prague* did even publicly (in the 19th Session, held *Septemb. 23.*) before all the Fathers, and not only by word of mouth, but by an Instrument under his Hand and Seal, abjure the second time all kind of perverse or suspected Doctrines, and profess the Catholick Faith as fully as any Man by Word or Writing could. But so on the other side it must be averr'd for Historical Truth, That when the Council had sent to both *Huss* and *Hierom* for the Letters they had promis'd to write of their full Retractation to the *Bohemian* Barons and other Followers, they refus'd to give any; alledging such a reason as plainly shew'd the Submission made by them was only Guile and Fiction. For, said they, we'll not write to the *Bohemians*, because we would not call back from Heaven any we have by Divine Doctrine lead thither. Whence it is manifest, these Apostles of *Bohemia* retain'd still inwardly in their Hearts those Doctrines of *Wicleff* they had formerly Preacht at *Prague*, however of late they seem'd at *Constance*, or in their Prison, by word of mouth, to promise they would under their Hands and Seals not only condemn them, but

confess

confess they had themselves err'd and preacht false Doctrine against the Faith by maintaining them. And so likewise it must be granted for a notorious Truth, appearing out of the very Acts of that Council it self, (S<sup>ss</sup>. 2<sup>d</sup>. held 31 May 1416.) "That *Hierom* of *Prague*, Master of Arts, a *Lay-man*, (for so the Council calls him) after, and notwithstanding his former solemn Abjuration by Word and Writing under his Hand and Seal in the 19<sup>th</sup> Session, would needs desire publick Audience of the Council, and therein declare, say and profess publickly before them all, as he did, That he had wickedly consented to the Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against *John Wicleff* and *John Hus*. That by approving it he had ly'd. That he had never read any Heresie or Errour in their Books. And that now and for ever he revoked what he had lately said to the contrary in his solemn Abjuration before 'em. And all this, *Hierom* of *Prague* would needs declare publickly in that Council, tho' he forelaw not only his own Condemnation as of a relapst Heretick must have thereupon follow'd, as it did in that 21<sup>th</sup>. Session; but the consequence of it, his burning at the Stake. And this very Death he would suffer, as indeed (says the Learned *Florentin \* Poggius*, who was present) he suffer'd it with incredible Resolution, rather than he would retract again; tho' the Council used more than ordinary Endeavours to perswade him. And, therefore, nei-

\* *Epist. 3.  
ad Leonard.  
Arer. & in  
Tom. Rerum  
Boemic.*



ther his nor *Huss's* flight from *Constance*, nor their diffimulation in Prison or elsewhere, nor both in Conjunction together, can be a sufficient Reason to say they *would not* at first without the Emperours Safe-Conduct have come to that Council. The very same vain glorious desire of preserving their Credit with their *Bohemian* Followers, and propagating their Sect, which made them at last with so much resolution die a most painful and ignominious Death, when they might live a very honourable commodious Life; made them also at first engage so publickly and manifoldly to run at least the Risk of coming to the Council, that if they would not lose themselves and all their hopes, they must have ventur'd, tho' they had had no safe-Conduct at all. However 'tis without Contradiction, that *Hierom* of *Prague* had none of the Emperor's. And, therefore, notwithstanding any change in *Huss* or him at any time, I may here safely repeat again, that my Third Instance of your second Proofs imposing on the Reader is unanswerably home.

### S E C T. XXX.

**A**ND now, if I should moreover add, That this very second Proof of yours, (especially in Conjunction with your First, and the Design of your Article it self, and what follows in your Discourse here) does yet Fourthly and even most mightily impose on the Reader; viz. By a tacit Insinuation, as if the Emperor's Safe-Conduct to them had been violated: your  
Lord;

Lordship ought not in reason to take it ill. For, undoubtedly, no such matter of Fact of three hundred years memorial, can be more clearly evidenced at this distance of time, than that neither Council nor Emperour (and, consequently, nor other) can be justly charg'd with any such Violation. That the Council cannot we have already seen. Because nothing can be plainer than that by the delivery of the Criminals over to the Secular Court, they were wholly in the Emperour's Power; and the Council had no more to do with them, nor could pretend any kind of Authority to hinder him from observing exactly the Tenour of his Safe-Conduct, according to the legal, true and just intent of it. Nor has it yet been pretended, much less proved, that the Council did so much as privately advise the Emperour not to keep his Word (whatever that was) given to those Criminals, or privately resolve him that he was not bound to keep it if he gave them any for returning back safe. That neither can the Emperour himself be charged with any such Violation, these following Reasons evince.

The First is, that one of *John Huss's* Followers, nay one who favoured him so mightily as to protest in his Book that he writ the Naked Truth of *the Sufferings and Death of Master John Huss, Preacher of the Holy Gospel*, and then to tell many things tending much to his praise, and dispraise of the Council; yea plainly to exaggerate the very breach of the Safe-Conduct and Publick Faith given to

See *Albins*,  
Tom. 2. *Sta-*  
*tera morum*,  
*Examine* 7.  
*Trutin.* 9.

*Hus*

*Huss* by *Sigismund*; saying that *Sigismund* under his Hand writing promised him a Safe-Conduct securing him from Violence, not only in his going to the Council, but in his returning back from it to *Bohemia*; yet, after all, where he sets down the exact Form of the Safe-Conduct it self, gives such a form of it as has not one word or syllable for securing him in his Return. Whence it follows, that, if this Author his own dear Friend, be worthy of Credit in this particular, then surely there was no Security given him in the Safe-Conduct by the Emperour that he should return safely back. Nor, indeed, can there be any just reason to disbelieve such an Author in this particular, if it be farther consider'd that he professes to write *what himself did see, and hear, and truly found by Experience, knowing his own Testimony to be true.*

But whatever some Capricious Humour may think upon to evade the stress of this First Reason, I doubt not but my Second will appear unanswerable to all indifferent Judicious Men. *viz.* That, were it granted there had been express provision made in the Emperour's Safe-Conduct to *John Huss* for his safe returning back to *Bohemia*, as well as for his safe coming to the Council; yet, unless that Provision were made for him not in the common Form of all Safe-Conducts, that secures only from all *unjust* force; but in a *special* Form of securing him both from *unjust* and *just* Violence; and, consequently, from that of being made Prisoner by the Council,

Council, and as such deliver'd over to the Secular Power, and having no such special Provision to be pleaded, the very Imperial Laws did subject him to the *just* force of a violent death, and require the Emperour to inflict it. But, that he had no such special Provision in his safe Conduct; besides that no such matter was ever alledged by himself or any for him: and, besides that there is no likelihood in the World the Emperour would have made *John Huss* any promise or given him any security of defence from all *just* force and violence; for example, from that which he must have expected, if in his coming or returning he had murther'd Men, fired Houses, committed open manifest Treasons against the Empire it self: besides these things, I say, it is very clear, that so much as to desire or pretend to such a safe conduct or *special* provision, must have been against his own great pretence all along, both first at Home in *Bohemia*, and after abroad in his journey through *Germany*, That he would appear in the Council to justify himself from all guilt of any kind of Errour: and, consequently, must have been against his very great Design, and no less Hope, either to persuade or impose on the Council, and by the Council on the Christian World. For it was to this purpose he procur'd at *Prague* the Testimonials even of the very Arch-Bishop and Inquisitor General himself (who durst not deny him,) that *They did not know any Heresy in him*. And to the same purpose, he either expressly deny'd he had taught what he really had; or, confessing it, gave a quite



quite contrary sense to his words than ever he meant them in. As for example, about the Bread's remaining in the Sacrament of the Altar; he said his meaning was, the Spiritual Bread, not the Material, did remain. When he was accused to have defended the Errours of *John Wicleff*, he deny'd it flatly; meaning that altho' he had defended *Wicleff's* positions, he did not know them to be Errours. When his maintaining that *A Priest in mortal Sin did not consecrate*, was objected; he answer'd his meaning had only been, that such a Priest *did not worthily consecrate*. When he was requir'd to abjure the *Wicleffian* Errours, his Answer was, he could not abjure what he never held; because, forsooth, in his own heart inwardly he did not hold them to be *Errours*; tho' at the same time outwardly or by word of mouth he exprest no such thing. Also, that he had therefore not consented to the Condemnation of the *Wicleffian* Errours, because he would hear a just Condemnation of them. And when 'twas objected that he had wish'd his own Soul might be found at last with *John Wicleff's*; he answer'd, that he knew nothing of *Wicleff's* bad Life, but hoped he was a Saint; and, therefore, hoping so, did wish that wish. In a word, whoever observes his History may see him in his departure from *Prague*, and all along in his journey to *Constance*, even big with hopes to clear himself in the Council. Which having been as well his great design as great Pretence, 'tis no way reasonable to think he would himself have so much as desired a safe Conduct in that *special* form before mention'd.

Third

Third Reason. That whatever his safe Conduct really was, that is, whether it was not only for *coming* but *returning* safe; yet by his carriage in, and flight from *Constance* before his Cause was heard in the Council, he forfeited all the protection and benefit of it. For so it happen'd, that after his coming to *Constance*, being at full liberty and as free as any other man come to that City was, and this for almost a whole Month, that is, from the 3<sup>d</sup>. to the 28<sup>th</sup>. November, as we have seen before, he would needs in his Lodging venture to maintain *Wicleff's* condemn'd Positions, and tho' admonish't to give over, would not desist. That hereupon being accused to the Pope, he was order'd by his Holiness to be confin'd to a Chamber in the Palace. That a Souldier, who stood by, alledging he had a safe Conduct, and the Pope replying he had none from him, he was however again ordered to be put into the Custody of the Bishop of *Lassanna*. That now reflecting a little more soberly on his great pretence, design, hopes, and the vanity of all; how it could not possibly but be more than notoriously known, that he was the Man who had lately wrought so much trouble, confusion, disorder, woe, even to Blood-shed, in *Bohemia*: and He the man, who albeit in the year 1408. he had been at *Prague* the very chief Actor among the chiefest Condemners of *Wicleff's* doctrine, yet privately spread and maintain'd it every where, till by open Sedition having oppress'd the Liberty and destroy'd

*Spondan. ad An. 1415.  
num. 11. & 12.*

destroy'd the Laws of that famous University, banish't the *Germans* who till then had the Rule of it, nay banish't all the very Students of that Nation to the number of two thousand Youths; and after this by Fraud obtain'd from the King the chief Power of all the Schools, he then publickly profess'd the defence of all *Wickleff's* Books. And now considering also it could be no less then notoriously known that he was the Man who, even after the Condemnation of that Doctrine, not only by the Universities of *Oxford* and *Prague*, but a Council at *Rome*, had so profess'd and so declar'd himself: who had, therefore, by special order of the Pope been proceeded against, and Excommunicated by the Arch-Bishop of *Prague*; who had publickly from that Censure and Pronouncer of it appeal'd not to the Pope, nor to the Church, or any Representative of the Church on Earth, but to the invisible Head of it, *Jesus Christ* in Heaven: and who moreover, in pursuance thereof had wrought so far with his Auditory in the Chapel of *Bethlehem* ( where in contempt of the Arch-Bishop's order, he commonly officiated and preach'd ) that having put the question to them in Publick, whether they would adhere to him and his Appeal, they all answered they would. And therefore, now extremely apprehending, as on the one side the awful Majesty of the Council; the vast numbers of learned men assisting in it; the unexpected appearance of his *Bohemian* Accusers, who ( being now no more in any dread of him ) were come already to charge him home, at least twenty Persons

sons of Quality, integrity and good Fame, and several of them such as he had never known: so, on the other side, no Barons of *Bohemia* either able, or near, to rescue him: no Tumults of people so much as to be dream'd of at *Constance* like those at *Prague* which gave him dominion there. And, by consequence, now in his Confinement under the Bishop of *Lausanna's* charge, more seriously than ever weighing all both these and those representations together: and seeing in them all nothing but despair instead of hopes; he resolved not to stand to the Tryal of his Cause, nor, consequently, to the safe Conduct of the Emperour, but provide for himself by secret flight. That, accordingly, he attempted it, being convey'd out of *Constance* in a Country-mans Cart, under a heap of Straw which covered him; tho, being soon discovered, he was brought back prisoner to the Popes Palace again. Finally, that, however this Flight of his proved unsuccessful, 'twas reputed by all men ( save only the *Hussites* ) a second notorious forfeiture of his safe Conduct, as that of teaching *Wicleff's* positions in his lodging was accounted the First.

Fourth Reason. And a Reason it is wholly grounded on the following carriage of *John Huss* himself until he dy'd. For in his whole Defence there is not a word of any Violation of his safe Conduct, save onely in the particular of his being put in Irons, when he was brought before the Council. The fore mention'd Author, his own Disciple and great favourer, sets down many of his complaints; but not



not a syllable of his safe Conduct broke. The Emperour *Sigismund* often desir'd him to submit to the Council; protesting withal, That if he persisted in his obstinacy, the Council would proceed against him according to the Canons. That himself had promis'd them not to Protect him, and that he would much rather Sentence to the Fire a pettinacious Heretick, then defend him. Besides, that History tells how this good Emperour would be, and accordingly was, present in the Council in his Imperial Robes, with his Crown on his Head, and all the Electors and other Princes and Great ones of the Empire in their Formalities waiting on Him, with the Scepter, Golden Globe, and Sword; while the whole Process against *Huss* was read, and the Condemnation of him, for a Heretick was pronounc'd, and his Person was deliver'd over to the Secular Power. Whereupon, it also was, That he commanded the Duke of *Bavier* in those words, ( whereof before, ) *Vade & recipe eum, &c.* Go and receive him, &c. And yet no where in the whole procedure against *Huss* do we read, that he, either in Prison, or in the Council, or receiving his Sentence, or going to Execution, so much as once complain'd of the Violation of his safe Conduct; as neither, indeed, of any injury done him against the Canon or Civil Law.

Fifth Reason. And it in like manner grounded on the Emperour's own farther Carriage of himself in this matter. For, 'tis evident in that History, (as my Author *Albius*, who has read it, says) that while the Emperour had any hopes

hopes of reclaiming *Huss*, he was mightily concerned in the safety of his Person; especially, because he hoped thereby to restore Peace to the distracted Kingdom of *Bohemia*. Nay, that even after he had despaired of him, it was only his deference to the Laws of the Empire and Canons of the Church, and Justice it self, made him consent to his Death; as also in part appears by what we have seen but now in the former Reason. So that, by History nothing can be plainer than that the Emperour was not conscious to himself of having violated the Publick Faith of his safe Conduct. Which yet appears more fully out of his Letters to the Barons of *Bohemia*; who, by occasion of *Huss's* Death, rais'd new Commotions in that Kingdom. For, in that Letter he professes, That if *Huss* had follow'd his Counsel, and come to him, ere he had put himself into the Councils hands, it would have prov'd much more to his advantage. That for his sake he had often departed the Council; nay, the City it self, in anger. That he had feared, if he should have continu'd so any longer, the Council would Dissolve: they having protested, that if he did not suffer Justice to be done, they would stay no longer. That he revered not only the Bishops of the Church, but the Embassadours of all Christian Kings and Princes in the Occidental World, gather'd there together. Lastly, that the Council was in all things very well govern'd. Out of which Profession and Letter we may also infer that the Judgment on *Huss* proceeded in a manner from the joynt Consent of all

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Christian

Christian Princes. Now I demand, who can imagine the Laity, (whatever the Clergy did) would have approved the Emperours breaking his Imperial Publick Faith? Even that very Faith, on which alone all Agreements, Articles, Leagues, Cessations, Peaces, Compacts either already made, or thenceforth to be made at any time, must have been grounded? Besides, wherefore should the Emperour engage himself so often personally and publickly to persuade *John Huss*, if he could be still answer'd with the reproach of publick Faith broken by him? Why exhort the Courcil to proceed against him, assuring them he neither himself did believe him, nor thought they should give any credit to his words, whatever he promist? To what purpose that Solemnity and Presence of the Electours and other Princes at his Condemnation? And then his own Mouth commanding the Duke of *Bavaria* to receive him? To what purpose any of these particulars if the reproach of his Imperial Majesty was involv'd in every one of them? It is then as manifestly clear, I think, as any such matter of Fact, and so remote can be, that neither the Emperour himself nor that great Assembly harboured the least suspicion of Publick Faith violated to *Huss*; but were fully persuaded of the Justice both of his Condemnation and Execution too. Whence also it must follow that the clamouring noise of his safe Conduct broke, was only at first among such men as were his Followers; but men withal that being conscious to themselves of that report's having been rais'd without sufficient

ficient Ground, durst never bring it to the Test of a publick Tryal, least the Vanity and falleness of it might be laid open to the World.

The last Reason is, that the only objection which may seem to contradict or shock in any manner so clear a Truth, when examin'd will be found to signify nothing at all to any such purpose. A Catholick Citizen of *Constance* in his History of these matters, [ Says *Albins* ] writ in the *German* Tongue, relates, That *John Hufs* alledg'd the safe Conduct; and that the Emperour would have set him free, had he not been hindred by learned Men, who told him, *That by no Law a safe Conduct was due to a Heretick who persisted in his Hereſe.* This is that onely Objection I mean. But the solution is easie out of that History it self. For, albeit the honest well-meaning Author, being no Scholar, and by consequence, not knowing enough to expreſs in proper, unambiguous, clear termes the Answer those learned men gave the Emperour in such a matter of Intrigue and Science, has been somewhat obscure and imperfect in his Relation of that Answer here, if the precise words he gives it in, be onely regarded. Yet, if they be taken, as they ought, in conjunction with what he tells immediately before, it will be clearly seen, there is nothing in 'em to be objected here. In short, thus he relates matter of Fact immediately before: [ *John Hufs* having privately fled, when he was discovered and seized and a leading back prisoner, and now near *Constance*, and in fear that for his flight he should be put in Irons, thought fit to mention his safe Conduct: alledging, that in regard thereof he ought to be



Free from any Fetters. But being answered by him that brought him back, how 'twas decreed, that either he must justify himself from Heresy, or die if he would not retract: he thereupon suddenly getting off his Horse thrust himself into the Croud of people which came out to see him, (a Croud so great, that they were esteemed four-score Thousand of all sorts,) and so endeavoured to hide himself and steal away the second time, but was re-taken presently, and carried to the Palace.] So this honest *Dutch* Historian immediatly before. And so, likewise, immediately, without a syllable or a Letter interposed, he adds these very words. (as my Latin Author *Albius* Translates them) *Whom the King of the Romans would because of the safe Conduct have willingly set free, if from Learned Men he had not received Answer, That by no Law such a safe Conduct was due to a Heretick persisting in his Heresie.* Wherefore as plain as it is out of this Relation, That *John Huss* pretended the Emperours safe Conduct given him before, to be inconsistent with his being a Prisoner in Fetters: and that perhaps the Emperour did think the same too, as supposing that a safe Conduct for coming to the Council should of its own nature have implied a free Audience before the Council, that is, Audience to be given him as to a Free man, and not as to a Prisoner: so, plain it must be, that to make this whole Relation consistent with its self, and consequently give any tolerable sense to the Answer of those Learned Men; it must also be said, their meaning was (however ill exprest by our Historian) That by no Law such an Interpretation of the safe Conduct given him was due, as would set him free from Irons, or the condition of a Prisoner

soner at his Audience. For to make their meaning be, That by no Law the Emperour was bound to give him at first such a safe Conduct, as would require by the tenour of it such a free Audience of the Criminal without Irons, were to make 'em not answer at all the Point in question; which was onely, Whether that safe Conduct which actually was given by the Emperour, and pleaded by *Huss*, did by the Tenour of it, require such freedom. To the solving of which, every man sees it was very impertinent to answer what safe Conduct the Emperour ought, or ought not by Law to have given. Besides, that all men know, he was not by any Law requir'd to have given any safe Conduct at all, no more to a Heretick persisting in his Heresie, than to a High-wayman, or willful Murderer, or publick Rebel against himself: and yet withal know he was, nevertheless, by all the Laws of God and Man required to make good his safe Conduct after he had once given it, and make it good according to the true, full and Legal meaning of it. Wherefore, to Conclude, I must say, That since there is no Third meaning, which can be pretended to have been the meaning of those Learned Men in that Answer which our honest *Dutch* Historian of *Constance* has exprest so imperfectly and obscurely; and that neither the one, nor the other of those two meanings exprest here, does in the least oppose the Emperour's having fully observ'd his safe Conduct according to Law; it follows evidently, that

in the foresaid Historical Narration, there is nothing which duly examin'd can ground an Objection to contradict or shock that notorious Truth. And these, my Lord, being my Reasons for the no breach, no violation of the Publick Faith given by the Emperour to *Huss*, I leave it now to your own Candour, to determine whether you ought in reason to take it ill if I should add your tacit virtual insinuation to the contrary for a Fourth Instance of your Second Proofs imposing on the Reader.

### S E C T. XXXI.

**B**UT to proceed: What I am now to shew, after so long a digression is, 3. That neither has your Third and last Proof dealt a whit more kindly with the Reader; nor can signifie ought else to your purpose, besides that of imposing on him. Therein your Lordship sayes, *That those Fathers of Constance synodically define and declare*, That all Hereticks, all their Defenders or Favourers, even Kings, Queens, Dukes, &c. shall be proceeded against, as you say there, and I have given before, repeating your words. And, for your saying so, you quote, and onely quote that very Council in the 45<sup>th</sup>. Session or Last of it. Which quotation of yours, if it do not even exorbitantly impose on the Reader, nothing can. For without contradiction, there was no such matter decree'd, much less *Synodically defin'd and declar'd by those Fathers of Constance* either in that Last, or in any other of all the Four and forty Sessions held before. And

And yet, for the sake of the Reader, once more to digress a little, on occasion of my appealing here even to all the 45. Sessions of that Council: I confess, there is not only in the 15th. Session, besides Excommunication, a Penalty also of two months Imprisonment, denounc'd against all Persons of what Preeminence soever, even *Regal* and *Imperial*, who during the reading of the whole Process and final definitive Sentence against *John Huss*, should rise up, Speak, or in any way disturb that reading, or the silence or attention of the Council, till that Action were over; but in the 17th. Session a formal Sentence too as well depriving *ipso facto* of all *Secular Honour and Dignity*, as Excommunicating *ipso facto* all Persons in general, and *in specie* all Marquesses, Earles, Dukes, Princes, and even *Kings* too, who should annoy or hinder the Emperour *Sigismund* in his Journey to the King of *Aragon*, &c. And, I confess moreover that, had my Lord of *Lincoln* (as he has not any where in his Book) alledg'd either of these two Instances for that Councils having declar'd in some sort their own Approbation of the *deposing Doctrine*, or of a Power in the Church to *depose Kings*, it had been in some degree a more specious allegation than any produc'd by his Lordship, even there where he has given at large his Fourth sort of Arguments out of General Councils, for proving the Roman-Catholick Church to acknowledge such a power in the Pope. But, after all, it must be, on the other side, no less acknowledg'd that neither of these Instances can serve his Lordships purpose here,



or be objected against me in this place. For neither of 'em has a word against *Hereticks* (which is the case at present in controversy) nor decrees either *Deposition* or *Imprisonment* of any Person for the cause of *Heresy*, but for quite other causes.

As for any other use my Lord of *Lincoln* could make of either, had he thought of them to prove any kind of Tye on Roman Catholics to believe or own that *Deposing-power-Doctrine*, I can really see none at all. And my Reasons are, 1. It is plaine that neither of 'em is or was intended for a standing Canon or Law. They were both of them meer Temporary ordinances or precepts, to last only for a very little time; the former but two or three hours at most: The latter, at longest, but during the journey of *Sigismund* to *Aragon* and back again; that is, from the 15<sup>th</sup>. of *July* 1415. till the 3<sup>d</sup>. of *March* 1417. when being returned safe he appeared and sat in the Council Sess. 28. (2.) Since Reason tells us we must be much less concern'd in such meer Temporary Ordinances or Precepts of Councils than in their standing perpetual Canons: and, since we have also formerly seen at large that no Canons of Discipline can be of any force to prove us bound to own the Doctrine of the *Deposing-power*, no not even did they speak for it plainly and home: it certainly follows that meer Temporary Ordinances or Precepts of discipline in a particular case that was at an end about 300. years ago, can be, at least of no more weight now to that purpose. (3.) What is pretend-

ed as derivable from those two Instances, can be no way clearly or certainly deriv'd from either of them. Because that in the First of 'em the Fathers either did not mean to comprehend the Emperour himself in the clause of *Imprisonment*: (as 'tis most likely they did not; for in case he had Transgressed against their Command, who should or who could punish him with *Imprisonment* but by his own Supreme Temporal executive power?) and, consequently, in reference to him or his *Imprisonment* (and there was no other King present there, it could have a reference to) that kind of Supposition, which the Logicians call *suppositio accommoda*, or a Congruous meaning and restriction of the words, must of necessity be admitted in that Clause. Or, if the Fathers meant to comprehend him also, then in all likelihood it must have been by his own either express, or tacit, or presum'd consent they did mean so; himself being present in all his Glory, and with all the Ensigns of his Imperial Majesty, and yet both very attentive and very silent all the while; that is, most like himself in all respects, who was otherwise known to be the most zealously earnest Man in the World to forward the Council in all things whatsoever, and make himself and his Imperial power serviceable to them for ending the fatal destructive Schism. And therefore we may justly apply here those common Rules or Maximes of the Law, viz. [*Qui tacet, consentire videtur. & Volenti non fit injuria, &c.*] He that is silent, seems to give consent. and, There's no injury done to a willing mind. As for the second of those Instances which I confess must

must have been both Intentionally and really extended to all other Kings: who has read any thing in the History of this Council, that knows not withal how mightily all Christendom, especially all Kings and Princes, held themselves oblig'd to *Sigismund*, as for many former journeys of his, so particularly now for undertaking such a troublesome affair and tedious journey to *Spain* for all their sakes? And, by consequence, that from those Kings and Princes themselves the Council might rationally both presume and expect the ratihabition of that very *deposing Sentence* pronounc'd against all those who should any way hinder the Emperour in so pious and necessary an undertaking of his for the publick good of all Christendom. (4.) Tho' I be not for my own part much averse from thinking those Fathers of *Constance*, (at least the greater part of them) might peradventure have inclin'd to a favourable opinion of the *deposing-Power-doctrine*, and, upon a consequential persuasion derived thence, have, at least partly, grounded themselves in annexing to their Excommunication those Temporal Punishments of *Imprisonment* and *Deposition*, tho' really exceeding the extent of all their Spiritual Jurisdiction deriv'd from the Keys: (for even so in later times the Fathers of *Trent* themselves did seem to have inclin'd to the like favourable opinion of that very *deposing Power*: and accordingly to have, at least in part, proceeded on a Supposition of it in enacting their Canon of Discipline, *Sess. 25. de Reform. cap. 19.* against those Temporal Lords, even *Kings* and *Emperours* who

who should within their Jurisdiction allow of any place for Duels. ) I say, that altho' I be not my self wholly averse from such a thought of those very Fathers of *Constance* in their 15<sup>th</sup>. and 17<sup>th</sup>. Session; the Reader may nevertheless both remember and consider here what I have before sufficiently shew'd Sect. 21. That no Antecedent, nor Concomitant Suppositions, reasons, or opinions, privately swaying with, or influencing, or inducing the Fathers of any Council to enact even a *Canon* it self, can barely or only as such, oblige others to believe them sufficient or admit of them at all for just. And, therefore, that much less, or at least no more, can the same or the like Suppositions, reasons or opinions that move them in their issuing a meer Temporary Precept in a particular case or business, lay any stress on others to approve of them; tho' for other motives the Persons concern'd may acknowledge themselves bound, and accordingly observe the Precept it self. ( 5. ) And lastly, if any will be yet unreasonably contentious for any consequence as derivable from either of those two Instances, to my Lord of *Lincoln's* purpose, for fixing the Doctrine of the deposing Power on the Roman-Catholick Church; to silence utterly all farther strife about any such consequence, this also may be added, that when the Fathers of *Constance* pronounced or issued those two Sentences, there was *One* of the *Three Obediences* (as they were call'd) intirely wanting to make them a *General Council* so much as of the Occidental or Latin Church alone, viz. all the Kingdoms



doms of *Aragon, Castile, Navar, Portugal, Sicily,* and *Scotland*, besides some other parts less considerable; who then adhering to Pope *Benedict* alias *Petrus de Luna*, kept off as yet wholly disunited from them at *Constance*. And if it be objected that even *Two* of the *Three Obediences* were wanting not only when the Declarations of the Fourth and Fifth Sessions were made for the subjection of all Popes to General Councils, but also when the Doctrines of *Wicleff, Huss, &c.* were condemn'd in the 8th. Session; the Answer is obvious, viz. (1.) That those Declarations of the 4th. and 5th. Session are sacred, because they were approv'd afterwards both by all the Representatives and all the Represented Churches themselves of the *Three Obediences*, and consequently by the whole Body of that Communion. (2.) That so was the Condemnation of *Wicleff* and *Huss, &c.* and of their Doctrines, approv'd afterwards by the same whole even diffusive Communion every where. (3.) That so were never at any time those Reasons, Suppositions, or opinions that might peradventure, at least partly, have influenc'd the Fathers in the aforesaid 15th. and 17th. Session, where they annex to their Excommunication those Temporal Penalties. That so, I say, those private, those undefin'd, nay those undebated, nay and for ought appearing to the contrary those undiscover'd and wholly unknown persuasions of theirs, (if yet indeed any such were) that favour'd the Doctrine of the deposing Power were never yet approv'd of by the diffusive or National Churches of that Communion; but,

on

on the contrary, and in many occasions too, all along these very last 600. years effectually condemn'd, at least by the far greater part of that great diffusive Roman-Catholick Church. Which is enough to be incidentally animadverted here for the Readers sake, by occasion of my provoking here to all the Five and Forty Sessions of that Council against your Lordship's allegation of the last of them.

Wherefore now to return back where I was before this little short Digression, and to pursue the point I was then upon; I demand of your Lordship, what colour, what pretence you had for quoting at the end of your foresaid Marginal Note the 45<sup>th</sup>. Session of *Constance*? Even the very worst in the World. A Bull of *Martin* the 5<sup>th</sup>. (and 'tis along one of three printed Sheets in the largest *Folio*) which *Binius* has placed after the end of that 45<sup>th</sup>. Session; and, consequently, after the final close of that whole Council. A Bull that bearing date 8. *Cal. Martii* (our 20<sup>th</sup>. of *February*) the first year of that *Martins* Pontificate (being the year of Christ 1418.) can have no relation to any thing said or done in that 45<sup>th</sup>. Session: which was held the 22. of *April* following; even the very day the Council was by their own consent dissolv'd, *An.* 1418. A Bull that neither yet relates nor is related to, nor the matter of it so much as mention'd by, or treated in any of all the Sessions held under that Pope *Martin* the 5<sup>th</sup>. which were in all the 42<sup>d</sup>. held *December* 8. 1417. The 43. held the 21. of *March* 1418. The 44<sup>th</sup>. held on the 19<sup>th</sup>. of *April* the same year

year; and the last, as before. So that, however the words of your Marginal Note may be found (tho' not together in the same Period, nor in your Sense, or to your purpose, but here and there in several Periods, some in one and some in another) about the end of that Bull, which is directed to all Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Inquisitors, empowering them all every one, both joyntly and severally, to proceed against all Hereticks and their Favourers, even Kings, Queens, Dukes, &c. I cannot see on what account your Lordship has entituled the Council to it. Read all those very Sessions held under *Martin* the 5th. and you shall not find in any of them the least word relating to any such direction or power given by the Council, or (by their decree, consent or approbation) to be given by *Martin* either to Inquisitors, or Bishops, or Arch-Bishops, or any other, to dethrone Kings, to seize and imprison 'em, nay to inflict on 'em all other even Corporal punishments that Hereticks by Law are lyable to. For so that Senseless Bull (Senseless I call it in your representation of it by your Marginal Note) directs and empowers every Bishop to do. As if (for example) the Bishop of *Vienna* or *Paris*, could, or were directed by *Martin* to proceed in such manner against the Emperour or King of *France*: and that, forsooth, by this Pope *Martin's* own sole Authority, *Auctoritate nostra* and *auctoritate predicta*, as himself speaks about the end of that Bull, over and over again, at least four several times. Which very form of speaking and authorizing those Delegates

gates (were it made use of by *Martin*, even to that very purpose too you suppose here, viz. Of Dethroning Kings, Queens, &c.) does however sufficiently shew, that the Council had neither hand nor finger in giving such directions and Power to any. For, if they had but so much as approv'd of it, questionless *Martin* would for his own sake have added here, [*Sacro approbante Concilio Constantiensi; The Holy Council of Constance approving it,*] as he does before; (that is, a little after the beginning of the same Bull,) where he impowers the Bishops and Inquisitors to proceed against all Hereticks and their favourers onely to the Condemnation of them for such, and the delivering them over, as such, to the Secular Court.

But suppose *Martin's* alledging or adding in that former place their approbation of some directions contained in this Bull, and *Binius's* giving the Bull it self at length after the end of the 45<sup>th</sup> Session, might in some measure excuse your Lordship for quoting *Conc. Constant. Sess. 45.* under your Marginal Note; can either of them excuse your positive charging *those Fathers of Constance* with having *Synodically defin'd and declar'd*, That all even Kings, Queens, Dukes, &c. if they favour Hereticks, &c. shall be Dethron'd and otherwise proceeded against in such manner as we have but now seen? Does this very Bull, or does *Binius* himself say any such thing? certainly neither of them does. Nor can your Lordship by any other Topick or Argument make it good. Besides, I cannot see how your Lordship can justly Charge *Martin*



tin himself, or this very Bull of his with any  
 such Direction or Delegation of Power to any  
 for proceeding in such manner against either  
 King, or Queen, or other Supreme Power, by  
 any other Punishment than that of Excommu-  
 nication onely. Your Marginal Note has plain-  
 ly impos'd in this Particular on that very Bull.  
 And to say nothing of these material words,  
*etiamsi Patriarchali; Archiepiscopali, Episcopali*, im-  
 mediately before *Regali* purposely omitted, It  
 has joyned together several Clauses of two  
 different Periods, as if they were but of one  
 and the same Period, and referr'd to all the  
 same persons too. It has by a fine device of a  
 few pricks or tittles, and a large leap over sea-  
 venteen Lines, into the middle of the next Pe-  
 riod, tackt other Punishments to that of Excom-  
 munication against Kings, &c. even the loss of  
 their Goods, privation of their Secular Digni-  
 ties, Arrests, and Imprisonments of their Per-  
 sons, and all other Corporal pains that Hereticks  
 are obnoxious to. And all this without other  
 ground in the very second Period, than general  
 common expressions; and therefore such as not  
 being specifical, or expressing *in specie* Kings,  
 Queens, or other Supreme Powers, do not, cana-  
 not by any Rule of Law or Reason extend to  
 them; but by the known Rule of Logicians  
*de suppositione accommodata*, must comprehend onely  
 such inferiour persons of all sorts or degrees as  
 they may with some likelihood or possibility  
 mean, or the Bishop, or Inquisitor may with  
 some hopes and no Danger proceed against.

Lastly, did I grant you this Bull of *Martin*  
 the

the 5th. or ( which is the same thing ) your Marginal Note in what sense soever you please to give it; nay, were it absolutely true, That *those Fathers of Constance* had even Synodically *defin'd and declar'd* what your Lordship says they did: nothing could follow thence to conclude what should be your purpose here. Undoubtedly, to argue in this manner, The Fathers of *Constance* declared Synodically for the actual Exercise of the Papal Deposing Power even against all (Catholick) Kings and Princes whatsoever, Ergo they declar'd for the breaking of Publick Faith with Hereticks; were to argue from the Staff to the Corner. And yet only such, and no other in substance must the Argument be, derivable to your purpose here from such a concession of mine. Unless, peradventure, your purpose only was, now that you were in the end of your Book, to make use of that reflection ( both of your own Text and Marginal Note ) on the Fathers of *Constance*, to mind the Reader once more of your main charge against all Papists, the doctrine of the deposing Power it self, as maintain'd by them all. For so, indeed, you do here again both positively and bitterly charge their whole Communion with it. *This in Thesi, is their impious Doctrine and Principle; and in Praxi, they are now endeavouring to put it in Execution here in England; as evidently appears by their Popish and Hellish Conspiracy, by the gracious and powerful Providence of Heaven, lately and happily discover'd.* So says, and so concludes your Lordship in this place. But whether to take the most specious occasion for concluding with so

much Acrimony and Gall, was or was not the only purpose of your said Reflexion, both in your Text and Marginal Note, on the Fathers of *Constance*; I am certain you conclude here not only more than all the *Mediums* in your Book can justly infer; but much more than you ought on any account, or you knew by any means to be true either in *Thesi*, or in *Praxi*. That, as in the former Sections of this Answer I have abundantly clear'd the Roman-Catholick Church from your Imputation of that Doctrine to her in *Thesi*: even so the Providential Mercy of God has by this time convinc'd the World that her Sons were not the Men of our days who in *Praxi* were endeavouring to put it in Execution here in England. That in all Contingencies I have now fully answer'd all the Proofs you rely on for making out the scandalous charge of your 18<sup>th</sup>. or last Article. And that withal I have sufficiently shown what I purpos'd to shew, That not only every one of them does even plainly and manifestly impose on the Reader, but that none of them all signifies ought else to your purpose.

## S E C T. XXXI.

Wherefore now, to consider a little your Article it self, as ( antecedently to your Proofs ) it impeaches and charges on the whole Roman-Catholick Church that Popish Principle or Position (as you call it) That *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*: and farther yet to disprove this scandalous Charge with all Evidence imaginable

imaginable; Ple ( 1. ) suppose for once that *Sigismund* the Emperour had broke the publick Faith of his Safe-Conduct to *Huss*; nay, Ple suppose the Fathers of *Constance* themselves, either by some private advice or by that very publick decree made by them for proceeding against Hereticks, notwithstanding any Safe-Conduct of the Secular Power, had been guilty of the same breach. But, what then? I beseech your Lordship, must either or both these Suppositions together conclude the diffusive represented Church her self engaged to allow of that Erroneous Doctrine? Or must the single Fact of an Emperour, or private advice of a Council, or even a Conciliary Decree, either in a particular case of disputable Jurisdiction, or in any whatsoever of meer Discipline, be such a Rule to her as she cannot gain-say, reject or disallow when she will? Or does her own Practice allow, or do her own School-men teach any such thing? Or have not other guests decrees of this very Council of *Constance* than that concerning the Safe Conduct of Secular Princes, been still oppos'd, even during the succession of three Ages, by *Turrecremata*, and *Cajetan*, and *Bellarmine*, and all their Followers, and the Court of *Rome* it self: ever since in opposition to the Council of *Basil* that of *Ferrara* and *Florence* was held by *Eugenius* the 4th. ? Or was that decree of the Safe Conduct so much as a decree of Discipline, or a Precept in matter of Manners or good Life, that concern'd the whole Church and all her Children? Or, when it past the Vote of the Fathers, was there not one



of the Three Obediences ( as they are call'd ) intirely wanting to make that Council then a full Representative so much as of the Occidental Church only ? Or was it any of those decrees which *Martin* the V. added his Confirmation to in the close of this Council ? Or, finally, can so learned a Man, and so conversant in Books, even those of the Roman-Catholicks, as your Lordship is, deny these *Quere's* every one must be so respectively answer'd according to the doctrine of all Roman-Catholick Schools, as to free the diffusive represented Church from any obligation to follow, in such a matter, any such or other general Representative or Council whatsoever ? even were, I say, the case of those aforesaid two imaginary Suppositions, the very Case in real being now. Without contradiction, what I have said before to the Ten Suppositions of your Book, especially to the Sixth of them, evinces plainly that you ought not. And the known Doctrine of all the Roman-Catholick Schools, and the known Practice too of all the most famous Catholick Churches, a Man would think should be enough to shew you could not, at least you could not, without violence to your own Reason and knowledge both, deny these *Queres* must be answer'd so as I have now said they must. And, therefore, supposing all your Lordship can desire may be suppos'd of the breach of publick Faith both by the Emperour *Sigismund*, and the Council of *Constance* it self ; yet, after all, this Argument of *Quere's* and Answers due to them fairly concludes that the

diffusive

diffusive represented Church would not, could not, in that very imaginary case, be in any manner, or by any Principles of her own, bound to follow either in practice or doctrine that supposed Example.

( 2. ) That She *does not* follow it, or any other such ( real or imaginary ) example, I am now to shew. To which purpose, and whatever any is pleased right or wrong to suppose of *Sigismund* and the Council of *Constance*, I think there needs no clearer nor fuller evidence then that ever since this controversy was rais'd by the *Calvinists*, all Catholick *Divines*, to a Man, who put Pen to Paper in it, ( at least so far as I could read or find ) have very heartily, clearly and positively declar'd, that no Contracts, no Agreements, no Articles, no Peace or League made with, no Publick Faith given to *Hereticks*, can be lawfully broke on any account whatsoever; \* no. not in case Re-

ligion it self did seem, or was, notably endammag'd thereby. No; nor altho' His Holiness himself did interpose all the Plenitude of

\* And herein *Simanca* himself is clear and positive, yea notwithstanding any thing said to the contrary by Arch-bishop *Lawd*, against *Fisher*, or *A.*

C. pag 144. For tho' it be granted, that the bare words quoted by *Lawd* out of *Simanca*, be found in him pag. 365. *Instit. Tr. 46. Num. 51.* yet so is not the sense, they are brought for, but the quite contrary, to be found in that very Paragraph or *Num. 51.* where *Simanca* plainly declares himself to mean by them, not *Publick* Faith given by a Prince or State, but *private* Faith given or a private promise made against the *Laws of the Land*, to *Hereticks* by a *Subject*. And pursuant to this sense, clearly, tho' briefly expressed by him in the very foresaid number 51. he more amply delivers himself in

manifest words and an express position at large, Num. 54. Thus : *Si tamen fides data Hereticis, esset a Principe vel publica potestate : exactè servanda esset ; si modo quod addixisset, non sit de illo genere rerum, quas Lex aut inspirata aut naturalis vetat prestare.*

his Apostolick Authority, either to dispense in the Obligation, or to command the Breach of it. Nor do they allow here any kind of tacit Reserve, but what the rigidest and fiercest of all their Adversaries do themselves allow, viz. the Time unexpired, and conditions perform'd on the other side, and no Intrinsick Evil against the known Laws of God appearing in the promise made : which are but tacit Conditions of all Promises and Oaths even the most religious that can be. And so, indeed, have all the Catholick Divines of the last and this present Age deliver'd their Sentiments in this point ; *Joannes Molanus, [ de Fide hereticis servanda, cap. 14. ]* an excellent Divine of *Lovain* having led them the way. And so the very *Jesuits* themselves ( how great soever a prejudice the generality of Protestants entertain against them ) have no less perspicuously and positively asserted this Catholick Tenet against your Popish Position. *Martinus Becanus, in Opusc. Theol. g. de Fid. Heret. serv. c. 7. Heribertus Roswicus, apud Spondan. ad An. Christi 1413. num. 45. Turrianus de Just. & Jure. disp. 8. Disb. 2. and Laymannus, lib. 2. Tract. 3. cap. 12. concl. 4.* four Writers of that Society. Who moreover, have for their positiveness in this matter even against any power in the Pope himself to dispense in, or otherwise annul or break such Promises made to Hereticks, particularly

cularly *Laiman* has in the place quoted here, given this plain but true well grounded Reason, That no Evil so great can happen to Religion from a strict performance with *Hereticks*, as that of the Scandal from the contrary position, if once appearing to be either asserted or practised by Catholics as lawful, must needs in a little time amount to. [ However ( says the same Author *Laiman* ) it must be confessed the Calvinists of our time are deadly cunning. For, to the end they may without blame violate all agreements made with Catholics, they pretend the Jesuits and other Catholick Doctors teach that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*: and therefore it must be lawful to break Faith with such Men who are on their side ready to break it. Whereas, notwithstanding this pretence, they cannot bring so much as one Instance of the Catholics having broke Publick Faith; much less can they prove the Catholick Doctors to be of opinion that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*. For behold as well the Jesuits as other Catholick Doctors openly profess the contrary, and teach that Publick Faith given to Hereticks is to be kept inviolably, without Dispensation or Absolution, while they on their part are ready to keep it. ] So says he. And so now may I, ( to conclude this other Argument ) undoubtedly say, the Roman-Catholick Church does not follow the foresaid pretended example, as to the point of holding so much as in Theory or Speculation, that *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*; nor is on any account or in any manner tainted with that Popish Principle and Position of yours.

( 3. ) Do not we see all the Publick Transactions of Europe twixt Protestants on the one side, and Catholics on the other, these hundred and Fifty years, that is, ever since the Schism began, concurring to confirm this truth? So many publick Solemn Agreements, Associations,



ons, Leagues, Cessations of Hostility, perpetual Peaces, concluded betwixt them during that time? And the *Hugonots* of France, and the *Lutherans* of Germany, and the Protestants of *Moravia*, *Silesia* and *Hungary*, at several times enter'd into Agreements with their respective Catholick Princes, and thereupon laying down their Arms? And the Cantons of *Switzerland* among themselves? And the States of *Holland* with the Catholick King? And the Kings of *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, and States of *Holland* with the Emperour, King of *Poland*, Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and other Catholick Princes too? Or is it imaginable they would have done so, and do it still at this very present, if they could expect no performance? if they believ'd it a Popish Principle of the Catholick Church, ~~th<sup>at</sup>~~ Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks? They would not certainly, they could not in any reason. And therefore all, at least all the most Eminent for Authority, Power, Wisdom among the very Protestants in all Countries from the beginning of the Change to this present day, all their Princes, Councils of State, Assemblies, Parliaments have, and have by such notorious effectual Demonstrations prov'd they not only did not believe any such thing of the Roman-Catholick Church, but believ'd the quite contrary of Her. Which alone, I conceive, would be enough to answer the Scandalous reproachful charge of your last Article; but in connexion with the precedent Proofs, must be much more than enough, I am sure. However, my Lord, you have now all I would have

have said thus diffusely to it. Not that your Proofs, or Discourse upon it (which I confess to be much briefer than your Custom was in your former Articles) did require this Enlargement; but that I look't upon it as necessary for the full Satisfaction of both sides, Protestants and Catholicks, in a matter so important, and yet so disguiz'd by Art.

Nor is there ought else, that I can see, to be added here, save only, That here I end my Animadversions on each of your last Twelve Articles or Principles apart; and consequently, my Answers to all the Reasons of your Book for any of your whole number of Eighteen. That, to my knowledge, I have not balk't one of your Arguments, but shew'd them all every one to be at least unconcluding, as to your purpose against the Roman-Catholick Church. And, That being therefore now over all the laborious thorny part of my Work, what I see remaining is easy, and needs not much other pains of mine than that of a Transcriber.

### S E C T. XXXIII.

**F**OR, having hitherto proceeded mostly in a Negative way, solving your Arguments, I am now at last arriv'd where I would be, in a plain Affirmative path; that is, I have now before me the only Affirmative *Thesis* I am engag'd in; viz. That, if not in all, at least in almost all *European* Countries of that Communion abroad, there are even positive, manifold, clear Demonstrations of such notorious matters of Fact

Fact, as evidently shew the Injustice of your Charge. And altho' I have, consequently, now before me a subject of very great Variety and Extension; yet, because this Epistolary Tract insensibly swells beyond the proportion design'd for it, I shall in the few remaining Sheets contract much into a little, as Mathematicians do in their Cards. And, since that very little can be no other than purely Historical, I hope it may prove as pleasing to the Reader as it is easie to me. Above all, I wish your Lordship may be the better pleas'd with it ( I believe others of the Church of England will ) that, altho I could make use of Roman-Catholick Authors enow on this subject; as, for some part, of *Baronius*; for other, of his Continuator, *Spondanus*; for other, of *Padre Paulo*; for much, of *Pierre Pithon*; and then of *Jus Belgarum*, and *Caron*, and twenty others, I have, nevertheless, declin'd them all at present for one Illustrious Church of England writers sake. That Man of peace and judgement the late most Reverend Protestant Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *Ireland*, Dr. *John Bramhall*, I mean. Even this, among all those I have read, certainly the very best Vindicator of the English Reformation from Criminal Schism, even this very Eminent writer, this Man of so much zeal, and courage, and pains taken by him for the defence of his own Mother-Church, while he was abroad in banishment for the King, is the Author I chuse to follow on this subject now in hand: ( 1. ) Because he, notwithstanding his firm

firm perseverance in the Protestant Church of England till he breath'd his last, has first, in general, on the subject of those Popish Principles declar'd his judgment as contrary to your Lordship's as white to black:

\* viz. in his Reply to S. W's Refutation, Sect. 8. where he readily grants that these se-

\* Bramhall Tom. 1. Discourse 3. pag. 275.

ditions doctrines were never generally receiv'd, nor yet by the greater and sounder part of the Roman Church; and hopes they are at this day almost buried. (2.)

Because in his former Discourse, entitled, A just Vindication of the Church of England, he has, tho' on another occasion, in a very particular and singular way declar'd himself against your Lordship as to this matter, by amassing together in one Chapter (which is the 8th of his 3d. Discourse) \* so many

and such Instances of the most notorious matters of

\* Just Vindication, pag. 101. Tom. 1.

Fact in most European Countries of the Roman Communion, that I need no more, nor other, to evince my Affirmative Thesis her-. (3.) Because this Affirmative Assertion of mine, being so diametrically opposit to your Charge, and so withal evinc'd, must of it self, without other aid or help, and must both irresistibly and utterly subvert the whole Fabrick of your Book: and this secondary, total, clear (tho' brief) Subversion of such a work contriv'd against the Roman-Catholick Church, I would ascribe wholly to so Illustrious a Prelate and so excellent a Pen of the very Protestant Church of England. Behold the reasons,



sons, my Lord, why I do, on this Subject of Instances, confine my self to follow exactly that renowned Author, not only as to the Method, and Matter, and marginal References too, but very Words commonly: without changing, nay without adding any material thing till I come near the end; tho' I must, even all along, by contracting pass over much.

Wherefore now premising, first, That, for Place, these Instances are of five several sorts: The first, in the *Empire*; the second, in *France*; the third, in *Spain*, and the *Sicilian Monarchy*; the fourth in *Portugal*; and the Last, in the *Venetian State*. (2.) That for Time, they are not of those days of yore wherein Christian Emperours and Kings had heard nothing of an Ecclesiastical Prince Paramount, or any Sacerdotal Competitor for their Crowns at *Rome*; nothing of a papal Court; I am sure, nothing of that we now call the *Roman Court*; and, consequently, nothing of a System of any such or other Popish Positions whatsoever, maintain'd by a Court that yet had no being in nature; or taught by a Colledge of Seventy two Parish Priests, who had not yet their Creation of being made *Superiour to Princes, Equal to Kings, and Our Brother*. (3.) That not only all of them, every one, are of the times following the great Donation made by *France* to the See of *Rome*; but, generally, are of those much later yet; even those Contemporary with and succeeding the Usurpations of *Gregory the VII.* nay, mostly, of matters that happen'd within these  
last

last two hundred years; yea of some in our own remembrance but t'other day. So that your Lordship cannot justly except against 'em as not to my purpose, or as not answering the latter times at *Rome*. (4.) That to shew that all Princes and Republicks of the *Roman-Catholic Communion* do in effect the same when they have occasion, or at least do plead for it, which *Henry the VIII.* did here with us in *England*, by his renouncing the *Court of Rome*, was the only inducement our said Illustrious Author had to alledge those Instances. And now that, for preventing your prejudice against them before hand, these things are premis'd, I begin where he begins his parallel with the First sort; viz. those in the *Empire*.

[ "First, ( says he ) *Henry the VIII.* within his own Dominions did exercise a power of Convocating Ecclesiastical Synods, confirming Synods, reforming the Church by Synods, and suppressing upstart Innovations by ancient Canons. The Emperours have done the same. *Charles the Great* call'd the Council of *Franc-*

*ford*, consisting of 360. Bishops: *Apud Goldastum part.*  
 "witness his own Letter to *Elipandus*: 1. pag. 3.

" *Jussimus sanctorum patrum synodale,*

" &c. We have commanded a Synodical Council to be Congregat-  
 " out of all the Churches within our Dominions. Neither did he  
 " only call it, but confirm'd it also. *Ecce ego vestris petitioni-*  
 " *bus*, &c. Behold, I satisfy your requests ( that is of the  
 " *Elipandians* and *Felicians* who made Christ but an Adoptive  
 " Son of God ) did sit in the Council both as a Hearer and as a  
 " Judge; We determin'd and by the Gift of God have decree'd  
 " what is to be held in this Enquiry. And it is very observable  
 " how he dispos'd the resolutions of this Council into four  
 " Books. The first Book containing the sense of the *Roman*  
 " Bishop and his Suffragans. The second of the Arch-bishop  
 " of *Milan* and Patriarch of *Aquileia* with the rest of the *Ita-*  
 " *lian* Bishops. The third, the Vores of the *German, French*  
 " and

“and British Bishops. The Last, his own Consent. The Ro-  
 “mans had no more part therein than others, to set down  
 “their own Faith, and to represent what they had received  
 “from the Apostles. [*Lib. 5. Capitul.*]

“Neither did they only Convocate Councils and confirm  
 “them, but in them and by them reform’d Innovations, and  
 “restored ancient Truths and Orders. So did the same Em-  
 “perour. By the Council of our Bishops and Nobles, we have  
 “ordin’d Bishops throughout the Cities; and do decree to assem-  
 “ble a Synod every year, that in our presence the Canonical De-  
 “crees and Laws of the Church may be restored. Ludovicus Pi-  
 “us convocated a Council at *Aquisgrane* to reform the abuses  
 “of the Clergy, confirm’d the same and commanded the  
 “Constitutions thereof to be put in Execution: as appears  
 “by his own Epistle to *Arno*, Arch-bishop of *Salzburg*. O-  
 “tho the I. call’d a Council at *Rome*, and caused *John the XII.*  
 “to be deposed, and *Leo the VIII.* to be chosen in his place.  
 “The Sentence of the Council was, *Petimus magnitudinem*  
 “*imperii vestri*, &c. We beseech your Imperial Majesty that such  
 “a Monster may be thrust out of the Roman-Church. And the  
 “Emperour confirm’d it with a *Placet*, we are pleased. *Gol-*  
 “*dast. part. 1. pag. 12. & 34.* Henry the IV. called a Ger-  
 “man Synod at *Worms*; and another of Germans and Italians  
 “at *Brixia*, wherein Sentence of Deprivation was given a-  
 “gainst *Gregory the VII.* and confirm’d by the Emperour.  
 “*Quorum sententia* &c. To whose Sentence because it seem’d just  
 “and reasonable before God and Man, I also assenting do declare  
 “thee to have no right in the Papacy, as thou seemest to have. I  
 “Henry by the Grace of God, King of the Romans, with all our  
 “Bishops, do say unto thee, Descend from thy See, Descend. *Idem*  
 “pag. 45 and 50.

“So *Frederick the I.* call’d a Council at *Papia* to settle the  
 “right Succession of the Papacy; wherein *Roland the Cardi-*  
 “*nal* was rejected, and *Victor* declar’d lawful Bishop of  
 “*Rome*. And all this was done with due Submission to the  
 “Emperour; *Christianissimus Imperator*, &c. The most Chri-  
 “stian Emperour in the last place after all the Bishops and  
 “Clergy, by the advice and upon the Petition of the Coun-  
 “cil, receiv’d and approv’d the Election of *Victor*. *Idem*  
 “part. 1. pag. 70.

“I will conclude the first part of the Parallel with the  
 “Words of the same Emperour in the same Council. *Quam-*  
 “vis

"*vis noverim, &c.* Altho' I know that by vertue of my Office  
 "and Imperial Dignity the power of calling Councils rests in us,  
 "especially in so great dangers of the Church; for both Constan-  
 "tine, and Theodosius, and Justinian, and of fresher Memory  
 "Charles the Great, and Otho Emperours, are recorded to have  
 "done this. Tet I do commit the Authority of determining this  
 "great and high business to your Wisdom and Power, that is, to  
 "the Bishops there assembled. *Radevicus de Gestis Frederici*  
 "1. Lib. 2. Cap. 56.

"Only I'll add how it farther appears that the Emperor  
 "and the German Nation did not only endeavour to reform,  
 "but did in some measure actually reform the Excesses of  
 "the Roman Court, and other Ecclesiastical abuses and In-  
 "novations; as it has already been verif'd of Charles the  
 "Great and Ludovicus Pius. And how this appeareth more  
 "plainly by the Concordates (as they are Styl'd) of the  
 "German Nation with Gregory the XIII. and the Agree-  
 "ments of Frederick the III. and the Princes of the Empire  
 "with Pope Nicholas the V. whereby the Excesses and A-  
 "buses of the Roman Court are something abated and redu-  
 "ced: and by the Ghostly or Ecclesiastical Reformation  
 "made by Sigismund the Emperour in the year 1436. con-  
 "taining 37. Chapters or Articles for regulating the Pope  
 "and his Court, Cardinals, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Suffra-  
 "gans, Abbots, Monks, Fryars, Nunns, and all sorts of Ec-  
 "clesiastical or Religious Persons. *Goldast. part. 1. pag. 207.*  
 "211. and 270. But above all, how it appears most illustri-  
 "ously by the Interim or Declaration of Religion made by  
 "Charles the Fifth, attested with his Imperial Seal, and ac-  
 "cepted and approved by the States of the Empire, assem-  
 "bled in a Dyet at *Auspurg* May the 15th. in the year 1548.  
 "where the whole Exercise of Religion is establish'd untill  
 "the Definition of a Council (I produce it not to shew what  
 "it was, but what power the Emperour did assume in the ve-  
 "ry point of Religion) wherein these words are contain'd:  
 "*Quod autem, &c.* And whereas in the foresaid Declaration  
 "under the Rubrick of Ceremonies and the use of the Sa-  
 "craments among other things it is said [Into the which if  
 "any thing have crept that may administer occasion of Super-  
 "stition let it be taken away.] His Imperial Majesty doth reserve  
 "unto himself alone in this and the like Articles, where, and as  
 "often as it shall be needful, now and hereafter, the Right to

"correct



"correct, to add, to detract, as it shall seem just and equal to  
 "himself, according to the present exigence of affairs. *Idem* part.  
 "1. pag. 109. Lastly, it appeareth by the Declaration of  
 "Ferdinand the Emperour, made in the year 1555. in fa-  
 "vour of the Augustan Confession, and professours thereof.  
 "Goldast. part. 2. pag. 197.

"Secondly, the Kings of England, in their Great Councils  
 "did make themselves the last Judges of the Liberties, and  
 "Grievances, and Necessaries of their People, even in cases  
 "Ecclesiastical; not the Pope. They had reason. In vain is  
 "the Court of Rome's Determination expected against it self.  
 "The Emperours did the same. So Ludovick the IV. in his  
 "Apology against John the XXII. declared that the Pope  
 "ought not, cannot be a competent Judge in his own Cause.  
 "The Pope challenges such a Confirmation of the Emperour  
 "without which his Election was invalid. The Emperour de-  
 "termin'd the contrary in the Dyet at Franckford, An. 1538.  
 "Declaramus, &c. We declare that the Imperial Dignity is im-  
 "mediately from God alone, and that Election gives a sufficient  
 "Title; and that the Popes Approbation or Disapprobation signi-  
 "fies nothing. The Pope attempted to divide Italy from the  
 "German Empire by his fullness of Power. The Emperour  
 "declares the Act to be invalid and of no moment. *Idem* part.  
 "1. pag. 103. and 99.

"When the Princes and States of the Empire had presen-  
 "ted the hundred Grievances of the German Nation to the  
 "Popes Legat, they add this Conclusion. *Quod si enumerata,*  
 "&c. But, if the abovesaid Burthens and Grievances be not re-  
 "mov'd within the time limited, or sooner, from the Eyes of Men,  
 "and abolish'd and abrogated (which the Lay-States of the Em-  
 "pire do not expect) then they would not have His Holiness to be  
 "ignorant, that they neither can nor will bear or endure the fore-  
 "said most pressing and intolerable Burthens any longer, but find  
 "out other means of ease, and vindicate their former Liberties and  
 "Immunities. *Idem*, part. 2. pag. 58. As the sense of their  
 "sufferings were their own, so they would have the remedy  
 "to be their own, and not leave the cure to a Tyrannical  
 "Court.

"To this add the Protestation and the Oath of the Electoral  
 "Colledge and the other Princes of the Empire mentioned  
 "in their Letter to Benedickt the XII. *Quod jura, honores, bo-*  
 "na, libertates & consuetudines imperii, &c. That they would  
 "maintain

"maintain, defend and preserve inviolate, the Rights, Ho-  
 "nours, Goods, Liberties and Customes of the Empire,  
 "and their own Electoral Right belonging to them by Law or  
 "Custom, against all men of what Pre-eminence, dignity or  
 "state soever (that is to say in plain terms, against the  
 "Pope and his Court) notwithstanding any Perils, or  
 "Mandates or Processess whatsoever; that is, notwith-  
 "standing any Citations, or Bulls, or Excommunica-  
 "tions, or Interdictions from Rome. Idem Part. 1.  
 "pag. 100

"Take but one Instance more; Ferdinand the pre-  
 "sent Emperour, out of an unavoidable necessity to  
 "extinguish the flame of a bloody intestine warr, and  
 "to save the Empire from utter ruin, contracts a Peace  
 "with the King of France, the Swedes and their Ad-  
 "herents; whereby sundry Bishopricks and other Ec-  
 "clesiastical Dignities were conferr'd upon Protestants:  
 "Lands and other Hereditaments, of great value  
 "were Alienated from the Church in perpetuity.  
 "Free exercise of their Religion was granted to those  
 "of the Augustan Confession; Annates, Confirmations,  
 "and other pretended Papal Rights, were abolish't.  
 "The Pope's Extraordinary Nuncio protested against  
 "it; and Pope Innocent himself  
 "by his \* Bull bearing date, \* Bulla Innocent,  
 "Nov. 26. an. 1651. De- Decimi, impressa Ro-  
 "clar'd the Contract to be void, mx. 1651.  
 "annulled it, and condemn'd it

"as prejudicial to the Orthodox Religion, to the See of  
 "Rome, and to the Rights of Holy Church, notwith-  
 "standing the Municipal Laws and immemorial Customes  
 "of the Empire, and notwithstanding any Oath, taken for  
 "the observation thereof. Yet the Emperour and the  
 "Princes of Germany, stand to their Contracts, assert  
 "the Municipal Laws and Customs of the Empire, and  
 "assume unto themselves to be the only Judges of their  
 "own Priviledges and Necessities.

"Thirdly, Henry the VIII. Challeng'd the Patro-  
 "nage of Bishopricks, and Investitures of Bishops with-  
 "in his Dominions. The Emperour did more. Adri-  
 "an the Fourth, taxt Frederick the first for requiring  
 "Homage and Fealty of Bishops, Et manus eorum sa-

“*cratas manibus tuis innectis*; And that he held their consecrated hands in his hands. The Emperour deny’d it not, but justify’d it, why may not we require Homage and Oaths of Allegiance from them who hold their Lands from our Imperial Crown? The Ecclesiastical Lords in their Letters to Innocent the Third, do acknowledge, that the Fees which they held from the Empire, they had received at the hands of Otho the Fourth, and had done him Homage, and Sworn Fealty to him. And this before his Imperial Coronation at Rome. Goldast. Part. 1. pag. 38. & 72.

“Henry the fifth goes yet further, and accuses Pope Paschal, that, without any hearing, he sought to take away from the Empire the Investitures of Bishops, which the Emperour’s Predecessors had enjoy’d from the time of Charlemain by the space of four hundred years and upwards. A fair Prescription. But this is not all. The Emperours did long enjoy the Patronage of the Papacy it self, and the disposition of the Roman Bishoprick. Adrian the 1. with the whole Clergy and People of Rome quitted all their claim, right and interest to Charles the Great, as well in the Elections of the Popes, as Investitures of Bishops. And Leo the VIII. did the like to Otho the First, Which is a Truth in History so apparent. that no man can deny it with his Credit, nor question it with Reason. *Idem* pag. 53. *Idem* pag. 1. & 34.

“Fourthly, the Kings of England suffered no Appeals to Rome out of their Kingdoms, no Roman Legates to enter into their Dominions without their Licence. No more did the Emperours; tho’ they acknowledge the Roman Bishop to be their Patriarch, which we do not. Hadrian the Fourth complain’d of Frederick the 1. that he shut both the Churches and the Cities of his Kingdom, against the Pope’s Legates a latere. And more fully in his Letter to the German Bishops, That he had made an Edict, that no man out of his Kingdom should have recourse to the Apostolick See. To the former part of the Charge the Emperour answers. Our Churches and Cities are shut to your Cardinals, because we do not see them

"them Preachers, but Robbers; not confirmers of Peace, but extorting catchers of money; not repairers of the World, but insatiable scrapers of Gold. Thus much he writ to the Pope himself. To the second part of the Charge he answers, that he had not shut up the entrance into Italy, or the passage out of Italy by Edict, nor would shut it up to Travellers, or such as had necessary occasions, and the Testimony of their Bishops for their voyage to the See of Rome; but he intended to remedy those Abuses by which all the Churches of his Kingdom were burthen'd and impoverish'd. Idem. pag. 58, 61. and 59. That the whole Body of the Empire were of the same mind, it appears by the Adversities of *Mentz*, c. 13. And by the Hundred Grievances of the German Nation, which the Princes and Peers of the Empire protested that they neither could, nor would endure any longer, cap. 5, 6, 7, 8.

"Fifthly, the Kings of *England* declar'd the Pope's Bulls to be void. They had good reason, for they were not under his Jurisdiction, nor within the sphere of his activity. The Emperours did not so generally; but yet they took upon them to be Judges, whether the Pope's Key did err or not. *Pius* the II. by his Bull (an. 1459.) Condemn'd all Appeals from the Pope to a General Council, as erroneous, detestable, void and Pestilent; and subjected all those who should use them after two months, to *Execration ipso facto*, of what condition soever they were, Emperours, Kings or Bishops. Yet, long after this, *Charles* the

\* V. appealed from *Clement* the VII. to a General Council, *Ad sacri Generalis Concilii & totius Christianitatis cognitionem &*

\* (a) Anno 1526. Rescript. Caroli Quinti ad Criminal. P. Clem. VII. *judicium remittenda censuimus; Illique nos & omnia quæ cum Sanctitate habere possumus, aut deniceps habituri sumus, omnino subjecimus.* Wherein he did but insist in the steps of his Predecessors. *Lewis* the IV. did the same to *John XXII.* And in the Dyet at *Frank-ford* decreed them all that should



" assent to the Pope's Bull to be guilty of Treason, and to  
 " have forfeited all their Fees which they held of the  
 " Empire; because the sentence of a Pope, contrary to  
 " God or to Holy Scripture, or to that due obedience  
 " which a Subject owes to his Prince, is of no moment  
 " or validity. And such the Princes and Peers of the Em-  
 " pire did unanimously declare the Popes Bull to be  
 " *contra Deum & justitiam & Juris ordinem*; contran-  
 " to God, contrary to holy Scripture, and contrary to due  
 " order of Law. Goldast. Part 1. pag. 99, and 104.  
 " Sixthly, Henry the VIII. depriv'd the Pope of  
 " his Annats, Tenths, and First-fruits in England, of  
 " his Pall-money, and other extorted revenue. What  
 " did the Emperour and Germans, less than he? I  
 " the Advices of Mentz (cap. 10.) It is concluded

" That the Pope, shall receive no  
 \* Goldast ibid. p. " thing either before or after, \* for  
 100. " Confirmations, Elections, Ad-  
 " missions, Collations, Provisi-  
 " ons, Presentations, Holy Orders, Palls, Benedictions, &c.  
 " upon pain, that the Transgressor thereof, either  
 " in exacting, or giving, or promising, should incur the  
 " punishment due to a Simoniackal person. And tho' these  
 " were but Advices, yet the King of the Romans, and  
 " the Electors, did covenant mutually to assist and de-  
 " fend one another in the defence of them against all  
 " men: And yet farther, procur'd them to be confirm'd  
 " and enlarg'd in the Council of Basil (Sess. 21.) By  
 " the Addition of Investitures, Bulls, Annates, First-  
 " fruits, &c. This was too sweet a morsel for the  
 " Pope to lose willingly, when the Arch-bishop of  
 " Mentz pay'd for his Pall (worth about Six pence  
 " Thirty thousand Florins.

" Lastly, Henry the VIII. abolish'd the usurp'd Ju-  
 " risdiction of the Bishop of Rome within his Domini-  
 " ons. The Emperour did not so; whether the  
 " thought it not fit to leave an old Patriarch, or be-  
 " cause they did not sufficiently consider the right  
 " bounds of Imperial Power, especially being second'd  
 " with the Authority of an Occidental Council  
 " or, because they did not so clearly distinguish be-  
 " tween a beginning of Unity, and an Universality

" Jurisdiction

“Jurisdiction ; or, because they had other remedies  
 “to help themselves, I cannot determin. But this  
 “we have seen, that the Emperours have deposed  
 “Popes, and have appeal’d from Popes to General  
 “Councils; and have maintain’d their Imperial Pro-  
 “rogatives against Popes, and made themselves the  
 “last Judges of the Liberties and Necessities of the  
 “whole body Politick.

“From *Germany* our pass is open into *France*, where  
 “the case is as clear as the Sun: how their Kings  
 “(tho acknowledg’d by the Popes themselves to be  
 “most Christian, the eldest Sons of the Church, and  
 “otherwise the great Patrons and Protectors of the  
 “*Roman* See) with the Princes of the Blood, their  
 “Peers, their Parliaments, their Embassadors, their  
 “Schools and Universities, have all of them, in all ages,  
 “affronted and curb’d the *Roman* Court, and reduc’t  
 “them to a right temper and Constitution, as often as  
 “they deviated from the Canons of the Fathers, and  
 “encroach’t on the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church;  
 “whereby the Pope’s Jurisdiction in *France* came to  
 “be meerly Discretionary at the pleasure of the  
 “King.

“*Hincmare* had been condemn’d by three *French* Sy-  
 “nods for a turbulent person, and deposed. Pope *A-*  
 “*drian* the II. takes cognizance of the cause at  
 “*Rome* ; and requires *Carolus Calvus* the King of  
 “*France* to send *Hincmare* thither, with his Accusers,  
 “to receive Justice. The

“King’s Apologetick answer \* \* Goldast. Constit.  
 “will shew how he re- Imper. part. 1. p. 34.  
 “lish’t it. *Valde mirati*

“*sumus*, &c. We wonder’d much where he who dictated  
 “the Popes Letter hath found it written, as commanded  
 “by Apostolical Authority, that a King, who is a cor-  
 “rector of the unjust, the punisher of guilty persons, and,  
 “according to all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, the re-  
 “venger of Crimes; should send a guilty person, legally  
 “and regularly condemn’d for his excesses, to *Rome*. He  
 “tells him, that the Kings of *France* were reputed  
 “*Terrarum Domini*, not *Episcoporum Vice Domini* or Vil-  
 “lici ;

"lici; Lords Paramount within their Dominions, not  
 "Lieutenants or Bayliffs of Bishops. Quis igitur hanc in-  
 "versam Legem Infernus evomuit? Quis Tartarus de suis  
 "abditis & tenebrosis cuniculis eructavit? What Hell  
 "has disgorg'd this disorderly Law? What bottomless  
 "Depth hath belch'd it up out of its hidden and obscure  
 "holes?

"The Kings of France have convented the Popes  
 "before them. So Charles the Great dealt with Leo the  
 "III. And Lotharius with Leo the IV. The Kings of  
 "France have appeal'd from Popes to Councils. So  
 "Philip the IV. with the advice of all the Orders of  
 "France, and the whole Gallican Church, appeal'd  
 "from Boniface the VIII. and commanded his Appeal  
 "to be Publish't in the Great Church at Paris. So  
 "Henry the Great Appeal'd from Gregory the XIV. and  
 "caus'd his Appeal to be affix't to the Gates of St. Peter's  
 "Church in Rome. So the School of Sorbon appeal'd  
 "from Boniface the VIII. Benedict the XI. Pius the II.  
 "and Leo the X.

\* Goldast. Tom. 3. "The Kings of France, \*  
 "have protested against the  
 "Popes's Decrees, and slighted  
 "them; yea, in the very face of the Council of Trent.  
 "Witness that Protestation of the Embassadour of  
 "France, made in the Council in the Name of the  
 "King his Master. We refuse to be subject to the Com-  
 "mands and Disposition of Pius the IV. We reject, refuse,  
 "and condemn all the Judgments, Censures and Decrees of  
 "the said Pius. And altho' (most Holy Fathers) your Re-  
 "ligion, Life and Learning was ever, and ever shall be of  
 "great esteem with us; yet seeing indeed you do nothing, but  
 "all things are done at Rome, rather than at Trent; and  
 "the things that are here Publish't, are rather the Decrees  
 "of Pius the IV. than of the Council of Trent, we de-  
 "nounce and protest here before you all, that whatsoever  
 "things are decreed and publish't in this Assembly by the  
 "meer will and pleasure of Pius, neither the most Christi-  
 "an King will ever approve, nor the French Church ever  
 "acknowledg to be Decrees of a General Council. Besides  
 "this, the King our Master commandeth all his Archbishops,  
 "and Bishops, and Abbats to leave this Assembly, and pre-  
 "sently

“sently to depart hence; then to return again when there  
 “shall be hope of better and more orderly proceedings. This  
 “was high and smart, for the King and *Gallican Church*  
 “so publickly to reject, refuse and contemn all Papal  
 “Decrees; and to challenge such an Interest in, and  
 “Power over, the *French* Archbishops and Bishops, as  
 “not only to licence them, but to command them to  
 “depart and leave the Council, whither they were Sum-  
 “mon’d by the Pope.

“The *French* Kings have made Laws and Constituti-  
 “ons from time to time to repress the insolencies and  
 “exorbitances of the Papal Court, so often as they began  
 “to prejudice the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*;  
 “with the unanimous consent of their Princes, Nobles,  
 “Clergy, Lawyers and Commons.

“As \* against their bestowing of \* *Anno. 1267.*  
 “Ecclesiastical Dignities and Bene-

“fices in *France*, and their gross Simony and Extortion  
 “in that way. Against the payment

“of Annates and Tenthsto *Rome* \*; *Anno, 1406.*

“and generally for all the Liberties of *Anno. 1418. An.*

“the Church of *France*, against Re- *1438.*

“servations and Apostolical Graces,

“and all other exactions of the Court of *Rome. Charles*

“the VII. made the *Pragmatical Sanction*, to confirm

“all the Acts of the Council of *Constance* and *Basil*, a-

“gainst the Tyranny and Usurpation of the Pope. It is

“true, that *Lewis* the XI. by the flattering perswasion of

“*Aeneas Sylvius*, then *Pius* the II. did revoke this Sancti-

“on. But the King’s Proctor, and the Rector of the

“University of *Paris*, did oppose themselves formally

“to the Registring and Authorizing of this Revocation.

“Whereupon the King desired the advice of his Parlia-

“ment in Writing; which

“they gave to this effect \*, \* *Aug. 16. An. 1478.*

“that the Revocation of that

“Sanction tended to the Confusion of the whole Ec-

“clesiastical Order, the depopulation of *France*, the

“exhausting and impoverishment of the Kingdom, and

“the total ruin of the *French Church*. Hereupon the

“King chang’d his mind, and made divers Declarati-

“ons and Edicts conformable to, and in pursuance of the



“*Pragmatical Sanction*. After this,  
 \* *Anno*, 1487. “the Three Estates \* assembled at  
 “*Towers*, made it their first and in-  
 † *Anno*. 1517. “stant request to *Charles* the VII. †  
 “that he would preserve inviolable  
 “the *Pragmatical Sanction*, which they reputed as the  
 “*Palladium* of *France*. And in the National Council as-  
 “sembled by *Lewis* the XII. in the same City, it was  
 “again confirm’d.

“But the Pope storm’d and thunder’d, and Excommuni-  
 “cated and interdicted *Lewis* the XII. *Francis* the I.  
 “and the whole Realm, and expos’d it as a prey to the  
 “first that could take it, and gave plenary Indulgence  
 “to every one that should kill a *French* Man. King *Fran-*  
 “*cis* fainted under such fulminations, and came to a  
 “composition or accommodation with *Leo* the X. which  
 “was called *Conventa*, or the *Concordate*. On the one  
 “side the Pope’s Friends think he wrong’d himself, and  
 “his Title to a Spiritual Sovereignty very much, by de-  
 “scending to such an accommodation, and exclude  
 “*France* out of the number of those Countries which  
 “they term *Pays d’Obedience*, as if the *French* were not  
 “Loyal Obedient Subjects, but Rebels to the Court of  
 “*Rome*. On the other side, the Prelates, the Univer-  
 “sities, the Parliaments of *France* were as ill contented,  
 “that the King should yield one inch, and oppos’d the  
 “accord. Inasmuch as the University of *Paris* appeal’d  
 “from it to a future Council; and expedited Letters

“Patents Seal’d with the Uni-  
 † *Fasciculus rerum ex-* “versities Seal, † containing  
*petend. & fugiend. im-* “at large their Grievances,  
*press. An. 1535.* “and the reasons of their  
 “Appeal, which after were  
 “Publish’d to the World in Print.

“I cannot here omit the free and just Speech of a  
 “*French* Bishop, when *Henry* the IV. had in a manner  
 “ended the Civil Wars of *France*, by changing from the  
 “Protestant to the *Roman-Catholick* Communion; yet  
 “the Pope, who favored the contrary, upon pretence of  
 “his dissimulation, and great dangers that might ensue  
 “thereupon, for a long time deferr’d his reconciliation,  
 “until

“until the *French* Prelates by their own Authority did  
“first admit him into the bosome of the Church. At  
“which time one of them us’d this discourse: Was *France*  
“all on fire, and had they not Rivers enough at home,  
“but they must run as far as *Rome* to *Tyber* to fetch  
“water to quench it?

“Since that, in Cardinal *Richelieu’s* dayes, it is well  
“known what Books were freely Printed and Publick-  
“ly sold on *Pont Neuf*, of the Lawfulness of erecting  
“a new, or rather restoring an old proper Patriarchate  
“in *France*, as one of the Liberties of the *Gallican*  
“Church. It was well for the *Roman* Court, that they  
“became more propitious to the *French* affairs.

“Take one instance more which happen’d very lately.  
“The Pope refus’d to admit any new Bishops in *Portu-*  
“*gal* upon the nomination of the present King, because  
“he would not thereby seem to acknowledge or approve  
“his Title to the Crown in prejudice of the King of  
“*Spain*. Whereby the Episcopal Order in *Portugal*, and  
“all the other Dominions belonging to that Crown was  
“well near extinguisht, and scarcely so many Bishops  
“were left alive, or could not be drawn together as  
“to make a Canonical Ordination. The Three Or-  
“ders of *Portugal* did represent to the Pope, that in the  
“Kingdoms of *Portugal*, and the *Algarbians*, wherein  
“ought to have been Three Metropolitans, and Ten  
“Suffragans, there was but one left; and he, by the  
“Pope’s dispensation, *Non resident*. And in all the Asi-  
“atick Provinces but one other, and he both sickly  
“and decrepit. And in all the *African* and *American*  
“Provinces, and the Islands, not one surviving. But  
“the Pope continu’d inexorable. Whereupon they pre-  
“sent their requests to their Neighbours and Friends,  
“the *French* Prelates, beseeching them to mediate for  
“them with his Holiness: and if he continue still ob-  
“stinately deaf to their just Petition, to supply his de-  
“fect themselves, and to ordain them Bishops in case  
“of necessity. The *French* did the Office of Neigh-  
“bours and Christians. The Synod of the *French* Clergy  
“did write to the Pope in their behalf in *April*, 1651.  
“But that way not succeeding, they sent one of their  
“Bishops

\* Epist. Cler. Gallic. ad Innocent. Páp. 10. "shops as an exprefs *Envoy* "to his Holiness, \* to let "him know, that, if he still "refus'd, they cannot, nor "will be wanting to themselves, to their Neighbours, "but would supply his defect.

"But to leave matter of Fact, and come to the Fundamental Laws and Customs of *France*. Every one "hath heard of the Liberties of the *French Church*; but "every one understands not what those Liberties are, "as being better known by their practice at home than "by Books abroad. I will only select some of them

\* *Traite des Droits & Libertes de l'Eglise Gallicane.*

*Pro Libertate Eccl. Gallic. adversus Rom. Aul. Defensio Parsiensis Curia.*

"out of their own authentick "Authorities \*. And, when "the Reader has consider'd "well of them, let him judge "what Authority the Pope "has in *France* more than discretionary at the good pleasure of the King; or more "than he might have had in "other places, if he could have contented himself with "reason. Protestants are not so indiscreet or uncharitable, as to violate the Peace of Christendome for a "Primacy or Headship of Order, without Superiority "of Power; or for the Name of His Holiness; or for a "Pall, if the price were not too high; or for a few innocent formalities.

"1. The Pope cannot command or ordain any thing directly or indirectly, concerning any Temporal affairs within the Dominions of the King of France.

"2. The Spiritual Authority and Power of the Pope is "not absolute in France, but limited and restrain'd by the "Canons and Rules of the Ancient Councils of the Church, "receiv'd in that Kingdom. Where observe first, that "the Pope can do nothing in France as a Sovereign Spiritual Prince, with his *Non obstante's*, either against "the Canons, or besides the Canons. Secondly, That "the Canons are no Canons in France, except they be "received. This same Priviledge was anciently radiated in the Fundamental Laws of *England*. This Priviledge the Popes endeavour'd to pluck up by the "roots;

“ roots; and the Contentions about this Priviledge were  
“ one Principal occasion of the Separation.

“ 3. *No command whatsoever of the Pope, can free the  
“ French Clergy from their obligation to obey the Com-  
“ mands of their Sovereign.*

“ 4. The Most Christian King hath had power at all  
“ times, according to the occurrence, and exigence of  
“ Affairs, *To assemble, or cause to be assembled Synods,  
“ Provincial or National;* and therein to treat not only  
“ of such things as concern the conservation of the Civil  
“ Estate; *But also of such things as concern Ecclesiastical  
“ Order and Disciplin* in his own Dominions; and therein  
“ to make Rules, Chapters, Laws, Ordinances and Prag-  
“ matick Sanctions *in his own Name, and by his own Au-  
“ thority.* Many of which have been received among the  
“ Decrees of the *Catholick Church*, and some of them  
“ approv'd by General Councils.

“ 5. *The Pope cannot send a Legat a latere into France,  
“ with power to Reform, Fudge, Collate, Dispense, or do  
“ such other things accustomed to be specify'd in the  
“ Authoritative Bull of his Legation, except it be upon  
“ the desire, or with the approbation of the most Chri-  
“ stian King. Neither can the said Legate execute his  
“ Charge until he has promis't the King in writing, un-  
“ der his Oath upon his Holy Orders, not to make use  
“ of his Legantine Power in the King's Dominions longer  
“ than it shall please the King. And that so soon as he  
“ shall be admonish't of the King's pleasure to forbid  
“ it, he will give it over. And that whiles he does use  
“ it, it shall be exerciz'd conformable to the King's  
“ will, without attempting any thing to the prejudice  
“ of the Decrees of General Councils, or the Liberties  
“ and Priviledges of the *Gallican Church*, and the Uni-  
“ versities of *France.**

“ 6. *The Commissions and Bulls of the Pope's Legates  
“ are to be seen, examin'd and approved by the Court of  
“ Parliament;* and to be register'd and publish't with  
“ such cautions and modifications as that Court shall  
“ judge expedient for the good of the Kingdom, and  
“ to be executed according to the said cautions, and not  
“ otherwise.

“ 7. The



" 7. The Prelates of the *French Church* (*alitho' commanded by the Pope*) for what cause soever it be, " *may not depart out of the Kingdom* without the King's " Command or Licence.

" 8. The Pope can neither by himself, nor by his Delegates, judge of any thing which concerns the State, " Pre-eminence or Priviledg of the *Crown of France*, nor " of any thing pertaining to it. Nor can there be any " Question or Process about the State or Pretension of " the King, but in his own Courts.

" 9. Papal Bulls, Citations, Sentences, Excommunications, and the like are not to be executed in *France*, " without the Kings Command or Permission: and, " after permission, only by Authority of the King, and not " by the Authority of the Pope, to shun confusion and " mixture of Jurisdiction.

" 10. Neither the King, nor His Realm, nor His Officers can be excommunicated or interdicted by the Pope, " nor his Subjects absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance.

" 11. The Pope cannot imrose Penfions in *France* upon " any Benefices having care of Souls; nor upon any others, but according to the Canons, according to the " express condition of the resignation, or *ad redimendam vexationem*.

" 12. All Bulls and Missives which come from *Rome* to " *France*, are to be seen and visited, to try if there be " nothing in them prejudicial in any manner to the Estate " and Liberties of the Church of *France*, or to the Royal Authority.

" 13. It is lawful to appeal from the Pope to a future Council.

" 14. Ecclesiastical Persons may be convented, judg'd " and sentenced before a Secular Judge for the first grievous or enormous Crime, or for lesser offences after a " relaps, which renders them incorrigible in the eye of " the Law.

" 15. All the Prelates of *France* are oblig'd to swear " Fealty to the King, and to receive from him their investitures for their Fees or Mannors.

" 16. The Courts of Parliament, in case of Appeals " as from abuse, have right and Power to declare null, " void,

“void, and to revoke the Pope’s Bulls and Excommu-  
 “nications, and to forbid the Execution of them when  
 “they are found contrary to Sacred Decrees, the  
 “Liberties of the *French Church*, or the Prerogative  
 “Royal.

“17. General Councils are above the Pope, and may  
 “depose him, and put another in his place, and take  
 “cognizance of Appeals from the Pope.

“18. *All Bishops have their Power immediately from*  
 “*Christ, not from the Pope, and are equally Successors of*  
 “*St. Peter, and the other Apostles, and Vicars of Christ.*

“19. Provisions, Reservations, Expectative Graces,  
 “&c. have no place in *France*.

“20. The Pope cannot exempt any Church, Mo-  
 “nastery, or Ecclesiastical Body from the Jurisdiction of  
 “their Ordinary, nor erect Bishopricks into Archbi-  
 “shopricks, nor unite them, nor divide them, without  
 “the King’s Licence.

“12. All those are not Hereticks, Excommunicated or  
 “damn’d who differ in some things from the Doctrine of  
 “the Pope, who appeal from his Decrees, and hinder  
 “the Execution of the Ordinances of him or his Legates.

“These are part of the Liberties of the *Gallican*  
 “Church, as in truth they do of Right by the Law of  
 “Nature belong to all Sovereign Princes in their own  
 “Dominions. Otherwise Kingdoms should be desti-  
 “tute of necessary Remedies for their own conservation.

“But perhaps we may find more Loyalty and Obedi-  
 “ence to the Court of *Rome* in the *Catholick King*. Not  
 “at all. Whatsoever power King *Henry* or any of his  
 “Predecessors did ever assume to themselves in *England*  
 “as the Political Heads of the Church, the same and  
 “much more doth the *Catho-*

“*lick King* \* not only pre-      \* *Edict. Car. 5. An.*  
 “tend to, but exercise and      1526.  
 “put in practice in his King-      || *Baron. Tom. 11.*  
 “dom of *Sicily*, || both by      *An. 1097. Num. 29.*  
 “himself and by his Dele-      *Edit. Mogunt.*  
 “gates, whom he substitutes

“with the same Authority to judge and punish all Ec-  
 “clesiastical Crimes, to excommunicate and absolve all  
 “Ecclesiastical Persons, Lay-men, Monks, Clerks, Abbots,  
 “Bishops,

“Bishops, Archbishops, yea, and even the Cardinals  
 “themselves which inhabit in *Sicily*. He suffers no Ap-  
 “peals to *Rome*; He admits no Nuncio’s from *Rome*.  
 “And, to conclude, *He acknowledgeth not any Superiority*  
 “of the See of *Rome* it self, but only in case of preven-  
 “tion.

“What sayes *Baronius* to this? He complains bitter-  
 “ly, that upon pretence of *Apostolical Authority*, a grievous  
 “offence is committed against the *Apostolick See*; the  
 “*Tower* whereof is weaken’d in the *Kingdom* of *Sicily*;  
 “the *Authority* thereof abrogated, the *Jurisdiction* wrong’d,  
 “the *Ecclesiastical Laws* violated, and the *Rights* of the  
 “*Church* dissipated. And a little after, he declaims  
 “yet higher: *What wilt thou say to this Reader? But*  
 “*that under the name of Monarchy, besides that one Mo-*  
 “*narch which all the Faithful have ever acknowledg’d*  
 “*as the only Visible Head of the Church, another Visible*  
 “*Head is risen up and brought into the Kingdom of Sicily*  
 “*for a Monster and Prodigy, &c.* But for this liberty,  
 “which he took, the King of *Spain* fairly and quietly,  
 “without taking any notice of his Cardinalitian Digni-  
 “ty, caus’d his Books to be burn’t publickly.

“The King of *Spain*, when he pleaseth, and when  
 “he sees his own time, doth not only pretend to, but  
 “assume in his other Dominions, that self-same  
 “Power, or Essential Right of Sovereignty which I  
 “plead for in this Treatise. It is not unknown to  
 “the world, how indulgent a Father *Urban the VIII*  
 “was somtimes to the King and Kingdom of *France*,  
 “and how passionately he affected the Interest of that  
 “Crown; and, by consequence, that his ears were  
 “deaf to the Requests and Remonstrances of the King  
 “of *Spain*. The Catholick King resents this partiality  
 “very highly; and threatens the Pope, if he persists,  
 “to provide a Remedy for the Grievances of his Sub-  
 “jects by his own Power. Accordingly, to make good  
 “his word, he call’d a General Assembly of all the  
 “Estates of the Kingdom of *Castile* to consider of  
 “the Exorbitances of the Court of *Rome* in relation to  
 “His Majesty’s Subjects, and to consult of the pro-  
 “per remedies thereof. They did meet, and draw up  
 “a Memorial, consisting of Ten Articles, containing  
 “the

“the chiefest Abuses and Innovations, and Extortions  
 “of the Court of *Rome* in the Kingdom of *Castile*.  
 “Where, about the end, they tell the Pope, that their  
 “first Address is to him, to whom as Universal Pastor  
 “the reformation thereof doth most properly belong,  
 “*That there might be no need to proceed to other Reme-*  
 “*dies prescrib'd by the Doctors of the Church.* And in  
 “the Margent they cite more than Twenty several  
 “Authors, to shew what the Magistrate might do, in-  
 “case the Pope should refuse or neglect to reform  
 “these Abuses. His Majesty sends it to the Pope by  
 “Frier *Domingo Pimentel*, as his Embassadour. The  
 “Pope return'd a smart Answer by Signior *Maraldo*  
 “his Secretary. The King reply'd as sharply. All  
 “which was afterwards printed by the special command  
 “of his Catholick Majesty. In fine, the Pope con-  
 “tinu'd obstinate; and the King proceeded from  
 “words to deeds, and by his Sovereign Power stopt  
 “all proceedings in the Nuncio's Court; And for the  
 “space of eight weeks did take away all intercourse  
 “and correspondence with *Rome* (This was the First  
 “Act of *Henry* the *VIII.* which *Sanders* calls the be-  
 “ginning of the Schism); Until the Pope being taught,  
 “by the costly experience of his Predecessors, fearing  
 “justly what the consequence of these things might  
 “be in a little time, was contented to bow, and con-  
 “descend to the Kings desires.

“I might add out of *Padre Paolo* (in his Apology  
 “pag. 405) how *Charles* the V. in the year 1543,  
 “renew'd an Edict of his Predecessours at *Madrid*, that  
 “*Bulls and Missives sent from Rome should be visited,*  
 “*to see they contain'd nothing in them prejudicial to the Crown*  
 “*or Church of Spain.* Which was strictly observ'd with-  
 “in the *Spanish* Dominions. And so I might add up-  
 “on the credit of the *Portugueses* (in the book call'd  
 “*Lusitaniæ Gemitus*, pag. 39. and 41.) How *Alexan-*  
 “*der Castellan* was disgrac't, and expell'd out of *Spain*,  
 “for publishing the Pope's Bulls; and that the Papal  
 “Censures were declared void. And farther, how  
 “the Pope's Delegates, or Apostolick Judges, have  
 “been banish't out of that Kingdom for maintaining  
 “the Priviledges of the *Roman* Court.

“But



“But, before we leave the Dominions of this Great  
 “Prince, let us cast our eyes a little upon *Brabant*  
 “and *Flanders*. Who hath not heard of a Book  
 “compos’d by *Fansenius* Bishop of *Ipres*, call’d *Aug-*  
 “*ustinus*, and of those great animosities and conten-  
 “tions that have risen about it in most *Roman-Catho-*  
 “*lick* Countries? I meddle not with the merit of the  
 “cause, whether *Fansenius* follow’d St. *Augustin*, or  
 “St. *Austin* his Ancients; or whether he be reconcila-  
 “ble to himself in this Question. I do willingly o-  
 “mit all Circumstances, but only those which con-  
 “duce to my present purpose. So it was that *Urban*  
 “the *VIII.* by his Bull, censur’d the Book as maintain-  
 “ing diverse temerarious and dangerous positions un-  
 “der the name of St. *Austin*; forbidding all Catho-  
 “licks to print it, sell it, or keep it for the future.  
 “This Bull was sent to the Arch-bishop of *Mechlin*,  
 “and Bishop of *Gant*, to see it Publish’t and obey’d  
 “in their Provinces. But they both refus’d; and for  
 “refusing, were cited to appear at *Rome*; and not ap-  
 “pearing by themselves or their Proctors, were sus-  
 “pended and interdicted by the Pope, and the Copy  
 “of the Sentence affixt to the door of the Great Church  
 “in *Brussels*; altho’ in truth they durst not publish  
 “the Sentence of Condemnation without the King’s  
 “Licence; and were expressly forbidden by the Coun-  
 “cil of *Brabant* to appear at *Rome* under great penal-  
 “ties, as appeareth manifestly by the Proclamation or

\* *Impress.* *Bruxellis* “Placaet of the Council  
*per Antonium Velpium.* “themselves, dated at *Brussel*  
*Typog. Reg.* 1653. “\* *May* 12. 1653. Wherein  
 “they do further declare, that

“it was *Kennelyck ende notoir*,  
 “&c. Well known, and notoriously true, that the Subjects of  
 “those Provinces, of what state or condition soever, could  
 “not be cited or convented out of the Land, neither in  
 “Person nor by their Proctor, (*Seluer ook niet voor het Hoff*  
 “*Van Roomen*) no not by the Court of *Rome* it self. And  
 “farther, that the Provisions, Spiritual Censures, Excommu-  
 “nications, Suspensions and Interdictions of that Court,  
 “might not be publish’t or put in execution, without  
 “the King’s approbation after the Councils delibera-

“tion

tion. And yet farther they do ordain, *That the said*  
*defamatory Writing* (so they call the Copy of the Pope's  
Sentence) *should be torn in pieces in the Great Hall*  
*of the Court at Brussels by the Door-Keeper, condemning*  
*and abolishing the memory thereof for ever.* Thus all  
Christendom do joyn unanimously in this truth, that  
not the Court of Rome, but their own Sovereigns  
in their Councils are the last Judges of their Na-  
tional Liberties and Priviledges.

"I pass from Spain to Portugal, where the King  
and Kingdom either are at this present time, or ve-  
ry lately were, much unsatisfi'd with the Pope; and  
all about their Ancient Customes and Essential Rights  
of the Crown. As the Nomination of their own  
Bishops: Without which condition they tell the Pope  
plainly, that *they neither can, nor ought to receive them.*  
That if others than the Sovereign Prince have the na-  
ming of them, then *suspected persons may be intruded*, and  
the Realm can have no security. That it is the o-  
pinion of all good men, and the judgment of most  
learned men, that herein *the Pope does most grievously*  
*derogate from the Right of the Crown.* That it is done  
in favour of the King of Castile, lest he should ei-  
ther revolt from his Obedience to the Pope, or make  
war against him. And that if Provision be made  
contrary to Justice *for the private Interests of the Ro-*  
*man Court, Christ's Right is betray'd.* They advise the  
Pope to let the world know, that *he has care of Souls,*  
*and leaves Temporal things to Princes.* That if he per-  
sist to change the custome of the Church to the pre-  
judice of Portugal, Portugal may and ought preserve  
it's own Rights. And that if he love Castile more  
than Portugal, Portugal is not oblig'd to obey him more  
than Castile.

"There are other differences likewise, as namely  
about the imprisoning of some Prelates for Treason.  
To which they make this plea: *That the Law doth war-*  
*rant it. That Ecclesiastical Immunities are not opposite*  
*to Natural Defence. That it is he that hurts his*  
*Country, who hurts his own Immunity.*

"A Third difference was about the King's inter-  
medling in the Controversies of Religious persons;

“ To which they answer, that *the Protection of the Prince*  
 “ *is not a violation, but a defence of the Rights of the Church.*  
 “ *That it is the Duty of Catholick Princes to see Regular*  
 “ *Disciplin be observ'd.*

“ The fourth difference is about Taxes impos'd up-  
 “ on Ecclesiastical Persons, and the taking up the Re-  
 “ venues of Bishopricks in the vacancy. To which they  
 “ give this satisfaction, *That all Orders of men are oblig'd*  
 “ *in Justice to contribute to the Common defence of the*  
 “ *Kingdom, and their own necessary Protection. And that*  
 “ *the Revenues of the vacant Bishopricks could not be better*  
 “ *deposited, and conserv'd, than, when they are employ'd by the*  
 “ *Prince for the publick benefit, cum onere restitu-*  
 “ *endi.*

“ In sum, they wish the Pope over, and over a-  
 “ gain to consider seriously the danger of these courses,  
 “ now when Heresie shews it self with such confidence  
 “ throughout Europe. That the minds of men are  
 “ inclin'd to suspected opinions. That *St. Peters ship which*  
 “ *hath often been in danger in a calm Sea, ought not to be op-*  
 “ *posed to the violent course of just complainers, who think*  
 “ *themselves forsaken. That the Church of Rome has*  
 “ *lost many Kingdoms, which have withdrawn their obedi-*  
 “ *ence, and reverential respect from it for much lesser rea-*  
 “ *sons. That they had learn'd with grief by their last*  
 “ *repulse, that their Submissions and iterated Suppli-*  
 “ *cations had prejudic't their Right. That the King's*  
 “ *Embassadour, the Clergy's Messenger, the Agent from the*  
 “ *three Orders of the Kingdom had found nothing at Rome*  
 “ *from two Popes, but neglects, affronts and repulses. And,*  
 “ *lastly; for a farewell, that Portugal, and all the Pro-*  
 “ *vinces that belong to it in Europe, Asia, Africa and*  
 “ *America, is more than one single Sheep. Which is as*  
 “ *much as if they should tell him in plain down-right*  
 “ *Terms, that if he lose it by his own fault, he loseth*  
 “ *one of the fairest flowers in his Garland. See the*  
 “ *Book call'd Lustania Gemitus from pag. 20. to*  
 “ *pag. 45.*

“ From Spain, Low-Countries and Portugal, it is  
 “ now high time to pass over into Italy. Where we  
 “ meet with the Republick of Venice oblig'd in some  
 “ sort to the Papacy for that Honour, and Grandeur,  
 “ and

"and profit, and advantage, which the *Italian Nation*  
 "doth reap from it. Yet have not they wanted their dis-  
 "contents, and differences and disputes with the Court  
 "of *Rome*.

"The Republick of *Venice* \* Maji. 23. an. 1602.  
 "\* had made several Laws. As Jan. 10. an. 1603.  
 "First, that no Ecclesiastical Mart. 26. an. 1603.  
 "person shall make any claim, Bulla Pauli Quinti dat.  
 "or pretence to any *bona Em-* Romæ Apr. 17. an. 1606  
 "*phyteutica* (as the Lawyers  
 "call 'em) that is, waft Lands that had been plan-  
 "ted, and improv'd by the great charge, and industry,  
 "and good culture of the Fee-farmers, which were pos-  
 "sessed by the Layty. II. That no person whatsoever  
 "within their dominions should Found any Church,  
 "Monastery, Hospital, or other Religious house with-  
 "out the special licence of the State, upon pain of im-  
 "prisonment and confiscation of the Soyl and Buildings.  
 "Thirdly, that none of their Subjects should alienate  
 "any Lands to the Church, or in favour of any Eccle-  
 "siastical persons, Secular or Regular; without the spe-  
 "cial licence of the Senate; upon pain that the Lands  
 "so alienated should be sold, and the money divided  
 "between the Common-wealth, the Magistrate executing  
 "the Law, and the Party prosecuting the Process.  
 "IV. The Duke and Senate had imprison'd an Abbot  
 "and a Canon for certain Crimes whereof they stood  
 "convicted.

"*Paul* the V \* resented these \* Bulla eadem.  
 "things very highly, and com-  
 "manded the Duke and Senate of *Venice* to abrogate  
 "those Laws, so prejudicial to the Authority of the  
 "Pope, to the Rights of Holy Church, and to the  
 "Priviledges of Ecclesiastical persons; and to set their  
 "Prisoners forthwith at Liberty. Or, otherwise, in  
 "case of Disobedience, he excommunicated the Duke,  
 "and the Senate, and all their partakers, and subjected  
 "the City of *Venice*, and all the Dominions thereunto  
 "belonging, to an Interdict; and moreover, declared all  
 "the Lands and goods, which either the City of *Ve-*  
 "*nice*, or any of the persons excommunicated did hold  
 "of the Church, to be forfeited. And, lastly, com-



“manded all Ecclesiastical persons, high and low, upon  
 “their obedience to publish the Bull; and to forbear  
 “to celebrate all Divine Offices according to the In-  
 “terdict, upon pains contain’d therein; as also of Sus-  
 “pension, Sequestration, Deprivation, and incapa-  
 “city to hold any Ecclesiastical preferments for the  
 “future.

“But what did the *Venetians*

\* Literæ Leonardi “whilest Paul the V. \* thun-  
 Dom. Ducis Venet. “der’d against them in this  
 datæ. Maji 6. 1606. “manner? They maintain’d  
 “their Laws, they detain’d their

“Prisoners; they protested publicly before God, and  
 “the world against the Pope’s Bull as unjust and void,  
 “made without reason, against the Scriptures, and the  
 “Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, and the Canons of the  
 “Church, to the high prejudice of the Secular Power,  
 “with grievous and universal scandal. They command-  
 “ed all the Clergy within their Dominions to Celebrate  
 “Divine offices duely, notwithstanding the Pope’s In-  
 “terdict. And at the same time they publish’t and li-  
 “cenc’t sundry other writings tending to the lessening  
 “of the Papal greatness, and Jurisdiction of the *Roman*  
 “Court. Sundry of which books were condemn’d by  
 “the Inquisition, as containing in them, many things re-

\* Padre Paolo. Hist.  
 partic. lib. 4. p. 141.

“merarious, calumnious, scan-  
 “dalous, seditious, schismatical,  
 “Heretical; \* and the reading,  
 “and keeping of them was  
 “prohibited under pain of Excommunication.

“During this contestation the Duke of *Venice* dy’d,  
 “and the Pope prohibited the *Venetians* to proceed to  
 “the Election of a new Duke. The Senate, notwith-  
 “standing the Pope’s injunction or prohibiting, proceed  
 “to the Election. The people are unanimous, and re-  
 “solute to defend their just liberties. The Clergy Ce-  
 “lebrate divine offices, duely, notwithstanding the Pope’s  
 “Interdict; only one Order, with some few others ad-  
 “her’d to the Pope; and, for their labour, were ba-  
 “nish’t out the *Venetian* City and Territories. The Pope  
 “call’d home his Legate from *Venice*; The *Venetians*  
 “their Embassadors, Ordinary and Extraordinary from,  
 “*Rome.*

"*Rome.* The Pope incited the King of *Spain* to make war against the Republicks to reduce them to their Obedience to the Church; And the *Venetians*, being aided by their *Roman-Catholick* Allies, arm'd themselves for their own defence.

"It is not unworthy our observation, what was the Doctrin of the *Venetian* Preachers, and writers in those days; as it is summ'd up by an Eye-witness, and a great Actor in those affairs. *That God had constituted two Governments in the world; the one Spiritual, the other Temporal; either of them Sovereign in their kind, and independent the one upon the other. That the care of the Spiritual was committed to the Apostles and their Successors* [not to St. Peter as a single Apostle, and his Successour alone, either at *Antioch* or at *Rome*, as if all the rest were but Delegates for Term of life. Wherein they agree'd justly with us, that as each particular Bishop is the respective Head of his proper Church; so Episcopacy, or St Cyprian's *unus Episcopatus*, the conjoynt Body of Bishops is the Ecclesiastical Head of the Militant Church.] *That the care of the Temporal Government is committed to Sovereign Princes. That these two cannot intrude the one into the office of the other. That the Pope has no Power to annul the Laws of Princes in Temporal things; nor to deprive them of their Estates, nor to free their Subjects from their Allegiance. That the attempt to depose Kings was but 520 year old; contrary to Scriptures, contrary to the Examples of Christ, and of the Saints. That to teach, that in case of Controversy between the Pope, and a Prince, it is lawful to persecute him by Treachery or force; or that his Rebellious Subjects may purchase by it remission of sins, is a Seditious, and Sacrilegious Doctrin. That the Exemption of Ecclesiastical persons, and their goods from the secular Power, is not from the Law of God, but from the Piety of Princes, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the exigence of affairs. That Papal Exemptions of the Clergy are in some places not receiv'd at all, in other places but receiv'd in part: And that they have no efficacy or validity farther than they are receiv'd. That, notwithstanding any Exemptions, Sovereigns have power over their persons, and goods, whensoever the necessity of the Commonwealtb requires it. That, if any Exemption*

whatso-

"ever be abus'd to the disturbance of the Publick Tran-  
 "quillity, the Prince is oblig'd to provide remedy for it.  
 "That the Pope ought not to hold himself Infalible, nor  
 "promise himself such divine assistance. That, the Authori-  
 "ty to bind and loose is to be understood, Clave non er-  
 "rante. That, when the Pope has censur'd or excommu-  
 "nicated a Prince, the Doctors may lawfully examin whe-  
 "ther his Key have err'd or not. And, when the Prince  
 "is certify'd that the censure against him or his Subjects is  
 "invalid, he may and ought, for the preservation of pub-  
 "lick peace, to hinder the execution thereof, preserving his  
 "Religion, and convenient reverence to the Church. That  
 "the Excommunication of a multitude, or a Prince that  
 "commands much people is pernicious and Sacrilegious,  
 "That, the new name of blind obedience, lately invented,  
 "was unknown to the Ancient Church, and to all good  
 "Theologians, destroyes the Essence of Vertue, which is  
 "to work by certain knowledge and Election; exposeth to  
 "danger of offending God, excuseth not the errours of a  
 "Spiritual Prince, and was apt to raise sedition, as the  
 "experience of the last forty years had manifested.

"It may be perhaps objected, that the Venetian State  
 "had these priviledges granted to them by the Popes and  
 "Court of Rome. And it is thus far true, that they had  
 "Five Bulls, two of Sixtus the IV, one of Innocent the  
 "VIII, one of Alexander the VI, and the last of

"\* Paul the III. But, it is as

\* Nicom. Philal. "true that none of these Bulls  
 avertiment, pag. 22. "concern'd any of the matters  
 "in debate, but only the punish-

"ment of delinquent Clergy men. It has been an old  
 "subtlety of the Pope's, that, when the Emperours or  
 "Councils had granted any Ecclesiastical Priviledges or  
 "Honour to any person or Society, which it was not in  
 "their power to cross; yet straight-way their Bulls did  
 "fly abroad, either of Concession, or Confirmation, or  
 "Delegation; to make the world believe nothing could  
 "be done without them.

"But how then, or by what right did the Veneti-  
 "ans claim these priviledges? By vertue of any Papal  
 "Bulls? No such thing: But by the Law of Nature e-  
 "very one of them, as an Essential right of Sovereignty,  
 "and

“and by a most Ancient Custome of 1200 years; that is  
 “a thousand years before the first Bull was dated;  
 “as appeareth by the letter written on this oc-  
 “casion by the *Venetian* Senate to all their Sub-  
 “jects.

“To come to the Catastrophe of this business; both  
 “Sides grew weary of the difference; Christian Princes  
 “mediated a peace, especially the most Christian King.  
 “The *Venetians* were contented to shake hands and be  
 “friends with the Court of *Rome*; but without any re-  
 “paration, or submission, or confession, or so much as a  
 “request to be made on their parts. They refus’d to a-  
 “brogate any one of the Laws complain’d of. They re-  
 “fus’d (tho’ the Pope did press it most instantly, and the  
 “Cardinal *Joyeuse* did assure them it would be more ac-  
 “ceptable to his Holiness than the Conquest of a King-  
 “dom) to re-admit the banish’t persons into their City.  
 “They refus’d to take an Absolution from *Rome*: yea  
 “they were so far from it, that when the Embassadour  
 “intreated that the Duke might receive a benediction  
 “from him publickly in the Church, both the Duke  
 “and the Senate did resolutely oppose it, because it had  
 “some appearance of an Absolution.

“A man would have thought that this might have  
 “suffic’d to have taught the Popes more wit, than to  
 “have hazarded their reputation again so near home,  
 “where they are so well known. But it did not. They  
 “adventur’d after this to make their spiritual weapons  
 “subservient to their Temporal ends by excommuni-  
 “cating, and interdicting the Duke of *Parma*, and his  
 “Subjects, with little better success. But we have said  
 “enough, to shew, that all Christian Nations do challenge  
 “the right to themselves to be the last Judges of their  
 “own liberties and priviledges.

Hitherto, my Lord, that Illustrious Prelate  
 of your own Church of *England*. Even so  
 expressly in the foresaid place or Third Chap-  
 ter of his *Just Vindication*, &c. does he along  
 discourse, and then at last conclude his own  
 purpose there; which, what it was, I have shewn



before. And so likewise does he with all clearness imaginable evince my purpose here; tho' without any thought of me, or it, as such. Nay verily, he does it so, that there needs no more be said to disprove your whole book as well in this Affirmative way succinctly, as it has been diffusely before disprov'd in the Negative method I took. No more now to prove my assertory *Thesis* true. Nor a word more to conclude evidently from so many undeniable Instances of most notorious matters of Fact throughout *Europe*, That, none of all your Eighteen Articles or Popish Positions, can be otherwise than most injuriously charg'd on the *Roman-Catholick Church*. Or (which is the same thing) that none of them all can be otherwise than ungroundedly charg'd upon the great diffusive body of those National Churches, and people, who communicate with the particular Church of *Rome*, and her great Bishop, the Pope. Without contradiction, there needs no more be said to any such purpose here.

#### Section. XXXIV.

AND yet for a greater fulness of measure, I'll add (ex super abundanti) a few more instances of other such no less notorious matters of Fact, happen'd in *France* since the foresaid Author's death. I am sure the three former of them are such. For so are, and so have been these four and twenty years, First, the Six *Parisian* Propositions (as they are call'd) most notoriously known over all *Europe*, even to the Court of *Rome's* extream regret. Those Six, I mean, which the Theological Faculty of *Paris*, on a certain occasion given them, did think fit not only to debate, conclude  
and

and subscribe as their undoubted common sense ; but in a great body of Doctors and Masters, headed by the Elect Archbishop of that See, present them to the most Christian King, as they did, on the 8th of May, 1663. Which, translated into English are these. *I. That it is not the Doctrin of the Faculty, that the Pope has any Authority over the Temporals of the most Christian King ; Nay, that the Faculty has ever opposed those that would attribute so much as any indirect power to the Pope over the said Temporals. II. That it is the Doctrin of the Faculty, that the King does not acknowledge any Superiour in Temporals but God, and that this is her Ancient Doctrine, from which she shall never recede. III. That it is her Doctrin, that Subjects do owe Fidelity, and Obedience to the most Christian King in such manner, that they cannot be under any pretence whatsoever dispenc't with in either. IV. That the Doctrin of the Faculty doth not approve, nor has ever approv'd any propositions contrary either to the Authority of the most Christian King, or to the Genuin Liberties of the Gallican Church, or to the Canons received in the Kingdom ; for example, that the Pope can depose Bishops against the said Canons. V. That it is not the Doctrin of the Faculty, that the Pope is above an Oecumenical Council. VI. That it is not the Doctrin or Opinion of the Faculty, that the Pope is Infallible, where he has no Consent of the Church.*

Secondly, So the Declaration made at *Paris* by the Representatives of the whole *Gallican Church* in March, 1682. concerning the Ecclesiastical Power in Five Articles, is no less notorious now in all parts of *Europe*. The Tenor of which, being Originally in *Latin*, I render thus in *English*, as exactly as I can.

### *The Gallican Clergy's Declaration of the Ecclesiastical Power.*

**T**He Decrees and Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, so Zealously defended by our Ancestors, and their Foundations supported by the Sacred Canons and Tradition of the Fathers, manythere are who endeavour to ruine. Neither are others wanting who are not ashamed to lessen the Primacy of *B. Peter* and his Successors the Roman Pontiffs, instituted by *Christ*, and the Obedience owing them by all Christians

*Christians, and the so much to be revered by all Nations, the Majesty of the See Apostolick, wherein the Faith is Preach'd, and the Unity of the Church maintain'd. Hereticks also leave nothing unattempted whereby to render that Power by which the Peace of the Church is preserv'd invidious and grievous to Kings and People; and by those frauds to alienate simple Souls from the Communion of their Mother the Church, and consequently from that of Christ. Which inconveniences that we may obviate, We the Archbishops and Bishops, Assembled at Paris by the King's Command, representing the Gallican Church, together with those other Ecclesiastical Persons deputed with Us, after diligent debate, have thought fit these following Points to be establish'd and declar'd.*

1. *That of Spiritual things and matters appertaining to Eternal Salvation, but not of Civil and Temporal, the Power was given by God to the B. Peter first, and to his Successors the Vicars of Christ, and to the Church: Our Lord saying, My Kingdom is not of this World; and again, Give therefore to Cæsar, The things that are Cæsar's; and to God, The things that belong to God. Whence that of the Apostle must remain firm: Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; for there is no Power but from God; but those which are, are ordain'd by God. Therefore he that resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God. Wherefore Kings and Princes are not by any Command of God, Subject in Temporals to any Ecclesiastical Power: Neither can they be Depos'd, either directly or indirectly by the Authority of the Keys; nor can their Subjects be exempted from their Allegiance or Obedience, or Oath of Fidelity sworn. And this sentence, so necessary for the Publick Tranquillity, nor less profitable for the Church than for the Kingdome, as agreeable to the Word of God, Tradition of Fathers, and Examples of the Saints, to be inviolably kept.*

2. *That the said Plenary Power of Spiritual things is nevertheless in such manner inherent in the Apostolick See, and Successors of St. Peter the Vicars of Christ, that at the same time the Decrees of the Holy Oecumenical Synod of Constance, approv'd by the Apostolick See, and by the use it self made of them by the Roman Pontiffs and Universal Church, and alwayes religiously observ'd in particular*  
by

by the Gallican Church, concerning the Authority of General Councils, contain'd in the Fourth and Fifth Session, must be in full force, and remain immoveable. Nor does the Gallican Church approve of those who endeavour to break the force of the said Decrees, either by misrepresenting them, so as if they were of doubtful Authority, and less approved; or by restraining their sense to the time of Schism only.

3. That hence it is, that the Use of the foresaid Apostolical Power must be moderated by the Canons made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the Reverence of the whole Earth. That also the Rules, Customs and Institutions receiv'd by the Gallican Church, are still in force, and the Limits set by our Fathers, remain unalter'd. And that this must be for the dignity of the Apostolick See; viz. That the Statutes and Customes of so great a See, render'd firm by the consent of other Churches, retain their proper stability.

4. That in Questions also of Faith, the Determination chiefly belongs to the Great Pontiff; and all and every Church is concern'd in his Decrees; yet his Judgment therein is not irreformable, unless the consent of the Church be added to it.

5. All which, as received from the Fathers, we thought fit to be sent to all the Gallican Churches, and Bishops therein presiding under the conduct of the Holy Spirit; that we may all speak the same thing, and all unanimously agree in the same sense and sentence.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| * Franciscus, Archiep. Parisiensis, Præses.       | * bert, Archiep. Carthag. Coadjut. Rothomag.                |
| * Carolus Mauritius Archiep. Dux Rhemenfis.       | * Gilbertus, Episcop. Tornac.                               |
| * Carolus, Ebrodunensis Archiep.                  | * Henricus de Laval, Episc. Rupellenfis.                    |
| * Jacobus, Archiep. Camerac.                      | * Nicolaus, Episc. Regienfis.                               |
| * Hyacinthus, Archiep. Albienfis.                 | * Daniel de Cosnac. Episc. & Comes Valentinenfis & Dienfis. |
| * Phelypeaux, P. P. Archiep. Bituric.             | * Gabriel Episc. Aduensfis.                                 |
| * Ludovicus de Bourlemont Archiep. Burdegalenfis. | * Guelmus Episc. Vasatenfis.                                |
| * Jacobus Nicholas Col-                           | * Gabriel Ph. de Froallay de Tesse, Episc. Abrincenfis.     |
|   | * Joannes   |



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| * Joannes, Episcopus Tolonenfis.                            | Coquelin.                                   |
| * Jacobus Benignus Episc. Meldensis.                        | Lambertus.                                  |
| * L. M. Ar. de Simianc de Gordes, Episc. & Dux Lingonenfis. | P. de Bermond.                              |
| * Fr. Leo, Episcopus, Glan-datenfis.                        | A. H. de Fleury.                            |
| * Lucas d' Aquin, Episc. Forojulienfis.                     | De Viens.                                   |
| * J. B. M. Colbert, Episc. & Dux Montis Albani.             | Franciscus Feu.                             |
| * Carolus de Pradel, Episc. Montispessulani.                | De Maupéou.                                 |
| * Franciscus Placidus, Episc. Mimatenfis.                   | Le Franc de la Grange.                      |
| * Carolus, Episcopus Vau-renfis.                            | De Seneaux.                                 |
| * Andraæas, Episc. Antissiodor.                             | Parra, Decanus Bellicenfis.                 |
| * Franciscus, Episc. Trecentfis.                            | De Roche.                                   |
| * Ludovicus Antonius Episc. Com. Cathalaunenfis.            | M. de Ratabon.                              |
| * Franc. Ig. Episc. Com. Trecorenfis.                       | Clemens de Poudeux.                         |
| * Petrus, Episc. Bellicenfis.                               | Bigot.                                      |
| * Gabriel, Episc. Conseranenfis.                            | De Gourgue.                                 |
| * Ludovicus Alphonsus, Alectenfis Episcopus.                | De Villeneuve de Vence.                     |
| * Humbertus, Episc. Tutellenfis.                            | C. Leny de Coadeletz.                       |
| * J. B. d' Estampes, Massilienfis Episcopus.                | La Faye.                                    |
| Paulus Phil. de Lusignan de Franc.                          | J. F. de L' Escure.                         |
| Ludovicus d' Espinay de S. Luc.                             | Petrus le Roy.                              |
|   | De Soupets.                                 |
|   | Ant. Argoud, Decanus Vienne.                |
|   | De Bausser, Prepos. Massil.                 |
|   | G. Bouchart de Champigny.                   |
|   | De St. Georges, C. Lugdunenfis.             |
|   | Courcier.                                   |
|   | Cheron.                                     |
|   | A. Faure.                                   |
|   | F. Maucroix.                                |
|   | Gerbais.                                    |
|   | De Guenegand.                               |
|   | F. de Camps.                                |
|   | De la Borey.                                |
|   | Armandus Bazin de Bezons                    |
|   | Cleri Gallic. Agens Generalis.              |
|   | Desmarets, Cleri Gallicani Agens Generalis. |

[The Subscribers are in all, 8 Archbishops, 26 Bishops, and 37 other Deputies of the Clergy.]

Thirdly,

*Thirdly*, So are no less notorious the two several Edicts of the most Christian King *Lewis* the XIV. viz. The one dated the 14. of *August*, 1663. in pursuance of the foresaid six Propositions of the *Parisian* Theological Faculty; the other in the Month of *March* 1682. in pursuance of that Five-Article-Declaration of those Representatives of the whole *Gallican* Church, whose names you have but now seen: and each of them verifi'd and register'd in all the Parliaments of *France*; and given by the very tenour, and such reception of them, made perpetual Laws for that Kingdom, with particular and very precise injunctions in each of them respectively on all Universities, and Colledges and Schools, especially of Divines and Canonists, for the signing the aforesaid Six Propositions, & Five Articles; and maintaining them, & no other Doctrine on the Subject. As also with Sanctions of Incapacities & other Penalties which the transgressours of either must be obnoxious to. I have given both these Edicts at large in their own Original *French* Language in my *Causa Valesiana*. App. 1. *Instrumento Sexto*; whether I remit your Lordship, since I know you have that Book of mine.

*Fourthly*, So is the late Authentick approbation of our *English* Legal Oath of Allegiance, in the years 1680. and 1681. by Nine and Fifty Divines of the *Parisian* Theological Faculty (among which the very Chancelour of that University is one): so is it, I say, tho' not so notoriously known as are the Three former Instances, yet notorious enough both in the University of *Paris*, and in *England* too; since the Instrument thereof came forth in Print here at *London*, two or three years past, and I reprinted it again in my *Causa Valesiana*; tho' only for my own Defence against the Court of *Rome*. But for the satisfaction of all Readers, who may be either concern'd or desirous to see that Approbation render'd out of the Original *Latin* into *English*, it will not be amiss to give it so here. Only the Reader must be first advertis'd, there are two Forms of it. One peculiar to the *Chancellour*, and sign'd by him alone; a form very clear, and plain, and easy, without any limitation or distinction inserted therein. The other sign'd by the rest (that is, by the other eight and fifty) somewhat perplex't (as to vulgar understandings) with

a School - Distinction, and terms wherein that distinction is deliver'd ; tho', otherwise, in the main, or as to the absolute Lawfulness of taking the said Oath, agreeing perfectly with the Chancellor's ; however, as to an obligation or ty of Conscience on Catholicks to take it, which the former declares for, the later says nothing expressly, but leaves it as an implicit sequel of the Lawfulness of taking it. And so well they might, since all reason shews, that for clearing our Holy Religion from the reproach and scandal of maintaining disloyal Antichristian Tenets, we are oblig'd to do all we can ; or swear any Oath requir'd of us by the Municipal Laws of the Land, which by the Laws of God we may. And a man would think that the Authority of Nine and Fifty forrain disinterested Divines of so famous an University as that of *Paris* is, who, in the time of the late pretended Popish Plot, had the said Oath, sincerely translated before them ; and, after a long serious debate of all the particulars contain'd therein, approv'd it intirely, might be sufficient to remove all scruples at last from such *English*, and other Catholicks of these Dominions, as are not of themselves able to judge otherwise of the Lawfulness of it (in point of Religion, or Conscience, or Law of God) than by the Extrinsic Authority of their private Teachers or Confessours ; whose motives yet they cannot see ; nor, if they did, are able to judge whether they be well-grounded or not.

*The Chancellours Approbation.*

**W**E the under-written, of the Church, and University of *Paris* Chancellour, Doctor and Fellow of *Sorbon*, do testify unto all who are, or may be interested, that we have attentively seen, and read the Oath above transcribed, and that we have found nothing in it which may be contrary to the word of God, or Catholick, and Apostolick Faith. And therefore we judge it may without entrencing on that Faith, and with a safe conscience be taken by *English* Catholicks : Nay, and that they are by Religion bound to take that very Oath, and by all means to keep, and perform it as becomes faithful Subjects. In witness whereof we have subscrib'd, and caus'd our Seal to be put

put to our present Subscription. Dated at Paris in St. Mary's the Ninth Day of August, An. Dom. 1681.

Coquelin

By Command of the foresaid M. Chancellor.

Roger.

The Approbation sign'd by all the rest.

**W**E the underwritten Divines of the Sacred Parisian Faculty, do judge the Oath, as it is conceiv'd on the back side of this Page, may be with safety of Faith and Conscience taken by English Catholicks; if only in the proposition which is of the Deposition and Murder of Princes, as being that which is condemn'd as Heretical, [Depos'd and Murder'd] be taken joyntly; nay, and if separately; provided the Proposition, as it Abjures this Doctrine as Heretical, That Princes may be Depos'd, be taken materially (that is, as contrary to the Word of God) and even formally too, as it superadds [and Murder'd.] Deliberated and Dated at Paris the Sixteenth day of August, Anno Domini 1680.

Alexander Vaillant, Pastor Sti. Christophori.	Le Feure.
Chassebras, Archipresbyter Paris. & Pastor Stæ Mariæ Mag.	Phi. le Feron, Archidiaconus Ecclesiæ Santonensis.
Gerbais, Collegij Remensis Primarius.	Ph. du Bois Primarius Collegij de Fæn.
Mezure Pastor Sti Pauli.	Riord.
Le Caron, Pastor Sti Petri. Rouland.	Thire.
N. Petitpied Pastor Sti Marcelli.	Varet.
Le Feure, Professor Regius in Theologia.	Robine, Eremita Augustinianus.
Navarre.	Andre.
A. Faure, Vicarius Generalis Ecclesiæ Rhemensis.	Mouteau.
Fran. Louis.	Des Moulins.
	De L'escole.
	Bigres.
	De Riviere.
	Camyn.
	C. Blovin.



Petit pied.

F. de Beaumont.

De Biennial.

F. de Guigneul.

Le Charpentier, Can. Regul.

L' Empereur, Can. Regul.

Hicot.

De La Grange, Can. Regul.

Denis.

F. de Bourges, Can. Regul.

Du Four.

F. C. Braquet.

Bourdon, Can. Regul.

Blampignon, Pastor Sti Mederici.

F. Marie.

Le Devyon. d' Haroval Nau.

Basset.

Baudmet, Carmelita.

Le Pescheur.

F. F. Germain Carmelita.

A. P. Devyon, Can. Regul.

M. Humbelot.

De la Mare.

Le Tourneur.

Courcier, Theologus, Eccl. Paris.

De Mousseau. Senator Curia Parisiensis.

T. H. Malet, Carmelita.

De Fita, Pastor ff. Cosma & Dam.

Berthault, Collegij Stæ Barb. Primarius.

Boesset.

Le Feron.

Eidem deliberationi Subscripti nulla adhibita limitatione.

Le Morais Pastor Claustri B. V.

Lastly, Out of that other no less accurat Writer, nor less Reverend Bishop too, even of your own Protestant Church of England,

|| Joannes Roffensis de potest. Papæ in Temporal. Sc. Lib. 2. cap. 1.

Joannes Roffensis, whom I quoted several times before, I might here very pertinently mind your Lordship once more of those *Numberless Numbers* of good Men of all Degrees and Callings, Bishops, Priests, Monks, Clerks, Laicks, People, who (even for three Hundred Years continually in a Succession, after the fatal Controversy set on foot by Gregory the VII. and while the Mortal Feud of the Guelphs and Gibellins lasted) notwithstanding all the Excommunications, Privations, Curses, Interdictions of Popes, remain'd constant even to Blood, and Death, to their Deposed Princes. And I should, and I do, the rather in the last place now remember your Lordship of this Illustrious Testimony of Roffensis; that, altho' it be not of those Instances of matter of Fact,

Fact, which happen'd since the death of the foresaid *Ardmacbanus*; yet it alone contains a thousand Instances of such notorious matters of Fact, which happen'd in the Succession of so many Ages throughout many Provinces and Countries of *Europe*, as, without other addition to them, abundantly evince my Affirmative *The-  
sis* here: and consequently as with one breath, in this Affirmative way destroy your whole Charge against the *Roman-Catholick* Church. How much more does it so, when consider'd as back't and strengthen'd by such an accession of other Instances even all along after the *Guelphian* Feuds did cease? Besides, I would the rather mind your Lordship of that Testimony in this place, that as I had begun and proceeded with my Proofs in the former Section, out of so Judicious a Writer, and Eminent a Prelate of your own Communion, as the foresaid *Foannes Ardmachanus*: so I might end them here out of another most singular exquisit Author and Venerable Bishop of the same Church of *England*, this very *Foannes Rossensis*. In fine, I would also thereby take the occasion offer'd to tell your Lordship, that even his whole Work in two large Books defending *William Barclay* against *Bellarmino*, is for the matter, I am sure at least for the main part, one great, virtual, continual, and irrefragable Testimony, as if it had been written on purpose to convince your Charge against the *Roman-Catholick* Church, of the greatest Injustice in the World.

## Section. XXXV.

AND now, having in both ways, the *Negative* and *Affirmative*, so fully answer'd all the Premises of your Book, that, as they attacque that Universal Church of so many different Nations, they melt away every one before her, like Wax before the greatest Fire, or Snow before the hottest Sun: and, by consequence, having shew'd they cannot possibly infer any thing to your purpose against her: tho' I needed not, I think, to add one word more to animadvert in any special or particular manner on your Lordships final *Inference* drawn from all those Premises together; nevertheless, out of  
O O respect

respect to your Lordship, I'll consider even particularly and minutely of it. And to save my Readers the trouble of turning so far back as my eleventh Section to see it there, I'll repeat it here again in your own words. [“The Premises impartially consider'd, I think two things may and will *Evidently* follow. 1. That the *Principles and Positions* before mention'd are not only *dangerous* but *pernicious* to all *Supreme Powers* (especially to *Protestant Kings and Princes*,) and that in one thing omitted before, that is, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, &c.* 2. That the foresaid *Popish Principles* are not the private Opinions of some particular Persons only; seeing 1. They are profess'd and vindicated by the Jesuits, Canonists, and generally by other *Great Writers of that Church*, in their Books Written with the *Approbation* and *Commendation* of Authority. 2. Establish't in their approv'd and received *Canon-Law*. 3. In the *Authentick Decretal Epistles*, and *Papal Constitutions*. 4. In their *General Councils*; those (I mean) which they acknowledge to be General. 5. And (to say no more) all their Clergy and Ecclesiasticks (who have place in those Councils) have taken a *Solemn Oath* to maintain all those *Canons* and *Papal Constitutions*; and this Oath requir'd and taken by the Authority and Command of the *Council of Trent*, and the *Pope*, who is acknowledged to be their *Supreme Judge*; and since the *Councils of Pisa, Constance* and *Basil*, declar'd by *Pope Leo the X.* and his *Lateran Council* (which they account a *General Council*) to be above all *General Councils*: and this Declaration (that all might know it is *Law* and *Obligatory*) has lately been *referr'd into the Body of their Canon-Law*. Now, these things being undeniably true, that their *Popes* and *General Councils* (the *Supreme Authority* of their Church) have approv'd and receiv'd the foresaid *Principles* and *Positions*, and caused their *Ecclesiasticks* solemnly to swear, that they do believe, and will constantly profess them, and (so far as they are able) make all committed to their Charge do so too: It evidently follows, that they are *Roman-Catholick Doctrines*, own'd and approv'd by *their Church*, and not only by private

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“vate or particular Persons.] So sayes your Lordshi<sup>P</sup> here, at large, partly in your 113th. partly in your 114th. and for the rest in your 115th. page, the last (saying one) of your Book. And so, at last, by a specious recapitulation of all your chief Arguments together, you would impose on the undiscerning Reader, as if you had indeed evidently concluded your purpose against that very *Church*. But how wide of this mark all your Arrows hit; how your Premises neither conclude nor evince your purpose against that *Church*; in a word, how no such thing as that is which you have in the second point of your Collection here, and which alone was it you were concern'd to prove, does not only not *evidently*, but not so much as *probably*, or in any manner at all follow from the said Premises *impartially consider'd*, I have already made appear at large in so many precedent Sections of this Answer to them.

And yet, in the first place I do acknowledge, that, for shew and fineness of Art, these Conclusions deriv'd in the End of your Book, answer both the beginning of it, and the Premises themselves all along through it. 1. Because those *Two Things* which you conclude, have in such manner, by such words, and such interpolations or insertions, taken up three entire pages, that even a Judicious Reader may be sooner prepossess'd against Truth, than throughly see what your meaning is. 2. Because in the same two Conclusions, or *Two Things*, you have dextrously mingled Truth and Error together, and that more than once. 3. Because in the Second of 'em, nay in the latter part of that very Second, where certainly if ever you should have spoken out your mind without any reserve, you have nevertheless kept it hidden still, wrapt up in amphibological or ambiguous terms.

In the next place, to answer particularly what these *Two Things* (for so your Lordship calls 'em) may farther yet, in the Opinion of any Man, require; I give these following Animadversions on 'em severally apart. For even the former of 'em makes me tell your Lordship, 1. That however it be true in it self, yet the special reason which you immediately add to prove it true, is *evidently false*; that special reason being only this,



(which you say you omitted before, and therefore by a long and meer insertion enlarge your self in giving and proving it here) viz. That it is a Popish Principle and Position, That *Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*. 2. That I am certain, if I have clear'd any point of your Book in this whole Treatise of Mine, I have that Calumny; and shew'd, that neither Council, nor Canon, nor School, nor Doctor, nor Pope, nor Priest, nor Clerk, nor even Jesuit in the whole *Roman-Catholick Church* maintains, that Position of not keeping Faith with Hereticks, or breaking it on any account, but such as all mortal Men of both sides allow. 3. That therefore, laying aside that special reason of yours, the *Roman-Catholick Church* neither is, nor was, nor ever could be at any variance with your Lordship, on the said former of those *Two Things*. 4. That she at first by so many Councils of her Bishops as were held against Pope *Hildebrand's* errors; and then after, not only by her Orthodox School of *Sorbon*, but so many other Learned Universities, particularly all those of *France*, nay, by so many Famous National Churches, Kingdoms; States; yea by so many, and such notorious matters of Fact throughout *Europe*, in the Succession of so many Ages, ever since the Pontificate of the foresaid *Hildebrand*, alias *Gregory the VII.* has really and effectually condemn'd all those Popish Positions, even every one, certainly in your sense of them, as both *dangerous and pernicious to all Supreme Powers whatsoever on Earth*. 5. That particularly for my own part, so have I before hand already condemn'd 'em as such in the Twelfth precedent Section of this Tract; where, declaring what, and how many the Points are we agree in, I place your aforesaid Censure of those Positions, the *First* of the whole Eleven recounted there. 6. That I do not know any of that Communion, besides *Bellarmino* and his few *Roman-Court-Followers*, who so much as mince this matter of danger to Princes from such Doctrins, by a ridiculous Answer of their own, telling us, that (forsooth) the Pope will not exert his power against them, but in case of extreme, or at least very grievous necessity; and when he sees withall, by the disposition of the People, he may go thorow stich. 7. That neither could

your

your Lordship in any likelihood have been ignorant in any manner when you Writ your Book, that all the Opposers of the Papal deposing Power, who certainly make the Great Body of that Church, allow, nay positively assert the *pernicious danger* of those Doctrines of it, even to all Supreme Temporal Powers. 8. That therefore you might very well have spar'd your self the trouble of either inferring here, or proving before, or engaging your self at first by your *only Position*, to prove any where in your Book, and *infern* at last a Truth, which laying aside your special reason for it, no kind of *Roman-Catholick*, no Man at all in the world contradicts, the former of your *Two Things* here. How much more even ought you forbear inferring it from that special Reason of your Popish Position omitted by you before, which all *Catholicks* on Earth deny, and is besides (as imputed to them) notoriously false in it self. But your Lordship thought the exaggeration of it, and exasperation of unthinking Readers by it, would prepare 'em to believe your *Second Thing*. And so I believe it did in a great measure the simpler sort. However, I have by this time, I think, animadverted enough on the former of your *Two* final *Things* or sequels here.

For upon the later of 'em, viz. That *The foresaid Popish Principles, are not the private Opinions of some particular Persons only, but are Roman-Catholick Doctrines own'd and approv'd by their Church*: what yet remains of my Animadversions are,

*First*, That alltho' to infer this later of your *Two Things*, and infer it evidently from *The Premises impartially consider'd*, was, or at least should be the only proper grand Province of your whole Book; your Lordship has not only been as far from doing so as from *East to West*, or the Poles of the World are asunder; but moreover left your understanding Reader to divine what your meaning is in those equivocal, ambiguous terms of yours, which conceal it from him; while undiscerning Folks run away possessed with that false meaning you knew them capable of, as being the only obvious to them out of the former parts and whole Design of your Book.

*Secondly*, That whatever your Lordship may think of me, surely you will not except against those Illustrious Writers, and Prelates of the Church of *England*, *Joannes Armachanus*, and *Joannes Rossensis*, as Men that had not *Impartially consider'd* the Premises, that is, those Popish Positions. And yet, as I have shown out of themselves before, they saw, nay declar'd they saw, no such *Thing* follow, not only, not *evidently*, but not in any manner from those Popish Tenets of the *Roman-Court*. And yet no Writers of your Church have either more exactly weigh'd, or more plainly, directly and particularly censur'd all the said *Popish Positions*, every one, I am sure the very worst of them, as appears manifestly out of their own Writings.

*Thirdly*, That, however to wave at present this advantage on my side, from your own Church, against your Lordship here, and to give more distinctly yet my own proper sense of this evidence of yours, I answer. 1. That if in the former part of this same *Second Thing* (for it has two parts) by *private Opinions*, you mean only such as are not made publick by their being own'd by any sort of Publick Authority for them; and if by *Some particular Persons*, your meaning is not to exclude all those that are in Publick Office, nor even all those employ'd in the very most Publick and Eminent places in the Church; I willingly grant, that your *Premises impartially consider'd*, infer in that sense the former part of your *Second Thing*, viz. That *The aforesaid Popish Positions, are not the private Opinions of some particular Persons only*. But, if by either of these expressions you mean any more, or other, I must deny both the *Evidence* and *Consequence* of that very former part, as deriv'd, nay or in any other way or manner than very illogically and unreasonably derivable from the Premises. 2. That for the latter part, (because you took so much care not to speak your thoughts clearly, but deliver them in ambiguous double-meaning words) I must again distinguish, to lay open the different Senses of these two expressions, *Roman-Catholick-Doctrines*, and *Their Church*: Nay the single term [*Doctrines*] I must distinguish too. First therefore, if by *Roman-Catholick-Doctrines* --

less properly) call'd *Roman-Catholick*, because they are Doctrines that have been own'd by so many Great Bishops of the See of *Rome*, who call themselves, and are called by others [*Episcopi Catholici Urbis Romæ*] *The Catholick Bishops of the Roman City*; nay, because they are the special Doctrines most eminently asserted by those *Roman* Bishops in a Succession ever since the dayes of *Gregory the VII.* tho' still disown'd, and no less eminently and zealously opposed by a vast number of other Bishops, who nevertheless communicate with that See of *Rome* in Faith, Sacraments and other Holy Rites. And, Secondly, If by the single term [*Doctrines*] you understand not Doctrines of *Faith*, but Doctrines of *Opinion*. And, Thirdly, If by [*Their Church*] your Lordship means only the particular Church, or Diocess of *Rome* as influenc'd by the said Popes or their Courts; but not the Universality of other Churches communicating in Spirituals with that particular one of *Rome*. And, Lastly, If such only be your meaning in all these expressions or terms as they are joyn'd together in this latter part; my Answer is, [*Concedo Consequentiam.*] I grant your Consequence in this very later part of your *Second Thing*, may, and will evidently follow. But, on the other side, if by *Roman-Catholick Doctrines* you mean such Doctrines as are therefore only, truly, and properly call'd *Roman-Catholick*, because they are Doctrines own'd by the incomparably greater part of those National Churches, and People, who all of them together, go under the denomination of *Roman-Catholicks*. And, if by [*Their Church*] you mean that one Universal Church compos'd of all particular Churches (among which that of *Rome* is) agreeing in the same Faith, Sacraments, Holy Rites, Communion, and Government too according to the Canons or Customes respectively received by them; then without doubt my Answer must be [*Nego & pernego tam Consequentiam quam Consequens*] I utterly, and again, and again deny, not only that your *Premises impartially consider'd* infer either *evidently*, or in any manner so much as *probably*; this latter part of your *Second Thing*; but that even abstracting from your Inference, it is in it self True.



*Fourthly*, That in so many former Sections (at least from my Fourteenth exclusively) having deduced at large those manifold Reasons which very clearly prove these Distinctions made use of now by me to be neither Voluntary nor Ungrounded Shifts to evade any stress in what you infer, (as indeed there is no stress at all in it) but necessary well-grounded solutions to unriddle your ambiguous phrase or sense; I think it superfluous to repeat them, or any sum of them here again.

*Fifthly*, That for the same reason, I must likewise hold it needless to return a word more in answer to the five points of your specious Recapitulation here, than only to tell your Lordship: 1. That I have already, and very diffusely too, in those aforesaid Sections, render'd every one of these Five Points, extremely feeble, vain, and utterly insignificant to conclude, in your Sense, what your Lordships does (or at least would do) out of them here; your *Second Thing*. 2. That for the First Point, I refer the Reader to my Nineteenth Section; For the Second, to my Twentieth; For the Third, to my One and Twentieth; For the Fourth, to my Two and Twentieth and Three & Twentieth; And for the Last, to my Twenty Sixth, about the end, where I answer the Thirteenth Article of your Charge. Thirdly, That for what you insert particularly in the Fifth Point, either of the Pope's being acknowledg'd by all *Roman-Catholicks* to be their Supreme Judge; or of *Leo* the X. and his *Lateran* Council, to have declar'd the Pope to be above all General Councils; or, of this very *Lateran* under *Leo*, to be accounted by them (that is, by all *Roman-Catholicks*) a General Council: Or of that Declaration of *Leo* and the same *Lateran*, to have been lately referr'd into the Body of their Canon-Law: Or that even General Councils have approv'd and receiv'd the foresaid Popish Principles and Positions, and caus'd their Ecclesiasticks solemnly to swear, that they *Believe them*: and finally, that all these, and the former Five Points, are *undeniably True*: I refer your Lordship for the first of these Additional ones to my Fifteenth Section; where (answering your First Supposition) I treat of it fully, clearly and distinctly; for the

Second

Second and Third, to my Fifteenth and Eighteenth Section; For the Fourth to my Twelfth, and all those other several places too, where I observe, That *Liber Septimus Decretalium* (your Canon-Law here) is *no Cannon-Law* at all. For the Fifth, to my foresaid Two and Twentieth and Three and Twentieth, as likewise for the latter part of it to my Twenty Sixth near the end. For the Sixth and Last of them, to all my Answers both to your Suppositions and Positions, all along from the beginning, *i. e.* from the Fifteenth Section inclusively to this present place. By all which, at least collectively taken, I am sure, *an impartial considerer*, may be convinc'd, that *these things* recapitulated here by your Lordship; that is, all those former Five Points, and all these other Additional Six, are so far from being *undeniably True*, that several of them are *Undeniably False*; and none of all, nor all together taken, are such as in any manner can, or may, or will so much as probably infer this final Conclusion of yours against the *Roman-Catholick Church*.

Unless, peradventure, it be true, that the far lesser number of private Writers and Doctors than one *half*, amounts to the Generality of the whole of both sides: Or that the very Generality of such, were it granted, represents the Church, whereof yet they are still but inferiour private Members, and a very little part too: Or that the Approbation and Commendation of Books by the Authority of a very few (sometimes one or two) Censors or Approvers of them, conclude the sense of their whole Church: Or that your *Authentick Decretal Epistles* and *Papal Constitutions*, Bulls, Canons, part containing not a word to the controverted Subject; part, what is contrary to your purpose; part, relating only to the Temporal Territories of the *Pope*; and the rest of 'em rejected by the Church; may be of any effect or use to your Lordship here: Or that Councils not passing among whole *Roman-Catholick Nations* for General, must nevertheless be accounted General, only because a *Pope*, or his Court of *Rome*, or a few private Writers call 'em by this name: Or that Conciliary Decrees of *Discipline* ought to be allow'd, as if they were Decrees of *Faith*: Or that False Interpretations and False Translations of Councils, nay, and False Re-

ferences

ferences to them, where they have not a word of that which they are quoted for, must be admitted as their True Original Text: Or, that such of their Canons of meer Discipline as are not receiv'd by entire National Churches, may serve your Lordships turn. Or that a Judicial sentence of a Council in a particular matter of Fact, or case of one reputed a Criminal, must be a Canon of that Council, and oblige all Men: Or that an Oath impos'd by the Pope on any to profess, and to his power to maintain all *Papal Constitutions*, obliges the Swearer both to *Believe* 'em all right, and keep 'em too, even when he sees the whole National Church whereof himself is a Member, to *reject* and *condemn* 'em: Or, Finally, That because the Pope has caused the Dignifi'd and Benefic'd Ecclesiasticks to take the said Oath to maintain *all Papal Constitutions*, it must follow, that *Popes and General Councils* have approv'd and receiv'd the foresaid *Principles and Positions*, (that is, those Eighteen Popish ones) *and caus'd their Ecclesiasticks solemnly to swear that they do believe, and constantly profess them, and (so far as they are able) make all committed to their Charge, do so too.*

And, without any peradventure, I must confess, that were those tacit, virtual, antecedent paradoxes of yours (for so, and in such manner they are indeed yours, and even of necessity presupposed to your proofs of those Points given by you in your Recapitulation here) were they, I say, true in themselves; your conclusion, that is, the later part of your *second thing*, would evidently follow. But seeing they are, every one of them evidently False, and seeing withal the Maxime is no less evidently true, that from any False Antecedent, no Consequent follows but a False one; there can be nothing clearer than that your said conclusion, or later part of your *second thing*, deriv'd from such Paradoxes, must even be plainly False.

Wherefore, since I have thus abundantly, and clearly answer'd both the Branches (even as to the very most minute particulars) of your Lordships onely Grand, Complex, final conclusion here, inferr'd by your Lordship, tho' very inevidently, from all the premises of

Wk: I hope I may also now at last in my turn, from  
all

all my answers to them, inferr in a contrary way, that is, with all Evidence imaginable, my own no less final, Principal, Grand, Complex conclusion, viz. *That the Church of Rome in her Diffusive latitude, as comprehending all other Churches in Communion with the Bishop of Rome, does neither believe as matter of Divine Faith, nor own, nor approve, no nor tolerate not even as matter of meer Human or Probable Opinion, any of all those foresaid 18. Positions, which my Lord of Lincoln calls Popish, and charges on her.* My Lord, this conclusion here is the former of those two Negative Propositions or Positions of mine, which in my fourteenth Section I have so long before-hand purposedly, and distinctly set down; not onely as clear explications of what I mean't, in denying the onely Position of your Book to be True, but as the two Principal Verities I intended this Epistolar Tract should evince against yours: To make it manifest how unjustly you charge any of those Eightteen Popish Principles on the *Roman Catholick Church*; how justly soever the particular Church, or rather indeed, Court of Rome, may be tax'd at least with several, if not almost all of them. It was, my Lord, for the sake of that very former of those two positions, and by consequence for the sake of this final conclusion here, it was to lay the foundations of it deep, and firm as a Rock; it was to make all the way clear and smooth for inferring it in due place, that I would even by such manifold irrefragable proofs against your ten suppositions, evince the later of them first: as any may see I have done in my 15, 16, 17, & 18th Sections at large. And it was to the same end, that in seventeen Sections more immediately following, I have, and have both in the Negative, and Affirmative way, so diffusely enlarg'd my self in disproving all the premises of your book, and all the reasons both of your position, and charge against the foresaid *Roman Catholick Church*. Nay, it was to the same purpose still of inferring that former position at last, I have but a little before in this very present Section, plainly shewen both the Inevidence, and Inconsequence of your very final conclusion too. And therefore, my answers of both sorts, Negative and Affirmative, are now at an end.



dence imaginable, infer out of 'em, what your Lordship sees I have now done; that very Former Proposition as my onely great and last conclusion here, to end the whole dispute.

As for any farther eviſtion, or illustration of ſo clear a Truth, I ſee nothing can be added, but what would be ſuperfluous, if not tedious withall. And therefore I'll forbear even Recapitulating it ſelf as a needleſs toyl; eſpecially ſince I have ſo diſtinctly handled every point by it ſelf a part. Onely, I'll minde your Lordſhip briefly once more of theſe few following things. Firſt, That the Diſtinction of the *Church of Rome* into the *particular Church of Rome*, and the *Catholick*, or (which is the ſame thing) The *Universal Church of Rome* (which I call, and commonly ſince the Reformation has been, called the *Roman Catholick Church*) is at leaſt as Ancient as the Council of *Conſtance*, and the cenſure paſſed by thoſe Fathers on the One & Fortyth Proposition of *Wickleſſ* in their Eighth Seſſion, held the fourth of *May*, 1415. can be ſaid to be. And therefore 'tis a Diſtinction not ungroundedly made uſe of, all along this Treatiſe, by me. Secondly, That all mortal men confeſs the *Catholick*, or *Universal Church of Rome*, comprehends all the National Churches, none excepted, which communicate with the See of *Rome*, or Biſhop of that See. Thirdly, That when we ſpeak indefinitely of the *Church of Rome*, without any reſtraining Adjunct or Adjective added to the former word [*Church*], for example [*particular*] or ſome other Term of the ſame ſenſe, it muſt be underſtood we mean the *Catholick* or *Universal Church of Rome*, and not the *particular* one of that See, or City, or Dioceſs. For words are taken generally, as they ought to be, *pro ſaſoſiori ſignificato*, in the more ſamous, common, general ſignification, where they are not reſtrain'd either by ſome additional word, or the matter it ſelf. And every body knows, that ſince the foreſaid diſtinction came to be in uſe, the more ſamous ſignification of theſe indefinite words, *The Church of Rome*, is the *Catholick Church* of all Nations communicating with the Great Biſhop of the *Roman Dioceſs*, or his *particular Church*. Fourthly, That no Doctrines, Principles or Poſitions whatſoever publickly diſown'd by ſo much

as any one National Church of that Communion, can be either justly or truly said to be own'd by the *Catholic* Church of *Rome*, tho' at the same time they were confessedly own'd by the *particular* Church of that See or City. And the reason hereof is already given, above, in the second point, *viz*, because the *Roman Universal* comprehends all *particular* (at least *National*) Churches communicating with *Rome*. And, therefore any one of the National Churches opposing, must of necessity obstruct the consent of the great Universal, or intire whole made up of them all, none excepted. Fifthly, That, to repeat or say nothing now of *Venice*, *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Flanders*, or *Germany* either, no man that knows any thing of the *Gallican* Church, and Kingdom of *France*, or of their Contests with the Court of *Rome* at so many several times, in the Succession especially of those ages past since the Pontificate of *Gregory* the Seventh, not even your Lordship, can deny it to be a Notorious Truth, that they disown, and not onely disown, but condemn, but proscribe, but punish and persecute all those very Doctrines or Popish Positions, which your Lordship charges on that very *Universal* Church of *Rome*, as own'd by her. So far that *Gallican* Church and Kingdom are from either believing them as part of their Creed, without which salvation is not to be had; or even from allowing, nay, or but tolerating them as meer probable Opinions in any wise. And yet in Faith, and Sacraments, and all other holy rites the *particular* Church of *Rome*, and Pope himself communicates with them, and they with him, both in their Life, and at their Death, and after death too. Sixthly, and lastly, I dare say, and say it again, and again too, that if ever any Conclusion of matter of Fact has been evidently deduc't, either out of the solution of all objections to the contrary, or out of other the most notorious matters of Fact in *Europe*, or out of both together; then, without any doubt at all, the above-said Final Conclusion of mine against yours is deduced so; that is, with all the Evidence proper to such a Subject, or that any matter of Fact is capable of.

## Section, XXXVI.

W<sup>H</sup>at other material thing in your Book remains unanswered yet particularly, that is, distinctly, or by it self apart, is your Lordship's Censure first, and then your Challenge after, which ends your whole Discourse, and bids the *Person of Honour* you answer, or at least instruct, *Farewell*. It is by occasion of, and immediately after the last words of your foresaid Great and Final Inference, your Lordship proceeds both to censure and challenge any Opposer thus. [“So that if  
 “any (who knows, and has impartially consider'd the  
 “Premises) deny it, I shall not call him impudent, but  
 “I may, and must say he has a hard forehead, and a little thing will not make him blush. To conclude, if  
 “that Priest or Popish Gentleman (you mention) who  
 “so confidently denies the Church of *Rome* to approve  
 “such Principles as I have laid to her charge, can either shew, First, That I have mis-quoted the Authors  
 “I cite, and that such passages do not occur in the places quoted. Secondly, Or, (if they do occur, that I  
 “have *mistook their meaning*. Thirdly, Or (if neither  
 “of these can be shewn) if he can make it appear, that  
 “the Church of *Rome* has (by any Publick Act or Declaration) disown'd such pernicious Principles and Positions, and damn'd them as Erroneous, and (what  
 “they really are) impious: I do hereby promise him  
 “that I will be (what I hope I never shall be) one of  
 “the worst sort of Christians in the world. I mean a  
 “Roman-Catholique. Farewel.]

Now, my Lord, seeing I have taken so much pains hitherto, in observing all your lines with due respect, by answering them particularly where-ever I judg'd 'em to contain any thing tho' but seemingly material to your purpose: and seeing withal, that if, notwithstanding whatever I said before, I should here without some particular animadversion, wholly pass over this Close of your Book, so like a triumphant going off the Stage, with so much Tartness in your Censure, so much confidence in your Quotations, such plain defiance in your promise, and so vile a character of that Church and People

ple which you have not ceased to persecute with all Indignity even from the first word of your Book to the last: I say, considering that, if I should wholly pass over in silence all these provocations without animadverting on them in some particular distinct manner, not unbecoming either me or this place: it might peradventure give occasion to some, that would not look back, or see what I said before, to think I apprehended somewhat in them which I durst not attack, or could not answer well: Therefore I have thought it fitting not to spare a little more pains to continue even here, the same usual due respects to your Lordship, in remarking distinctly (tho' briefly) on each particular of this your last devoir by suitable answers to each.

As, First, That altho' I have deny'd, and do deny, that which you mean, *viz.* the later part of your Final Great Inference (as I have, and do also, not onely the former part thereof, as deriv'd from the special reason you give for it; but even all such of your very premises too, as, had they any truth in them, might with some colour of Probability, (tho' not Evidence) conclude: yet if I know any thing of my self, I can assure your Lordship I have not such a *hard forehead*, that a far *lesser thing* than denying any Evidence or Truth appearing to me, *would not make me blush*.

Secondly, That if your Lordship except against me, as not an *impartial considerer*; sure you will not, and I see no reason you should except against those Illustrious Writers of your own Church, *Foannes Armachanus*, and *Foannes Rossensis*, as *partial* (at least to the Church of *Rome*) in this case. And yet they, notwithstanding their perfect *knowledge*, and *impartial* consideration of all those things that make up whatever is true in your *Premises*, have plainly deny'd that very second part of [your grand complex Inference to be true: as I have shewn before out of their own printed works they have. And, since I presume your Lordship will not censure them (not even therefore) as either *impudent* or *hard foreheads*, or such as a *little thing* would not make them blush: I hope I may be exempt from this tart Censure of yours, tho' but for their sake. At least, I hope to bear it with the greater  
acquanimity



æquanimity, when *I* have such Illustrious Prelates of the very Church of *England*, equal partakers of it with me.

Thirdly, That, how ever *I* be not that Priest or Popish Gentleman, which the Person of Honour, your Lordship addressees to, mention'd: *I* am nevertheless one that so confidently denies the Church of *Rome* to approve such Principles as you have laid to her Charge. For *I* take it now for granted, that your Lordship takes the Church of *Rome* here, as you do throughout your Book; and as it is commonly, and ought to be taken *pro famosiori significato*, for the Universal Church of *Rome*, and not for the particular Church of that City or Diocese. And, therefore, *I* am also one, that not onely can shew, but has already shewn and even abundantly proved, First, That your Lordship has misquoted those very Authors and Books you were most concern'd to cite exactly, the Decree of *Gratian*, and Decretals of *Gregory* the Ninth, and the *Tomes* of *Councils* too. That you have misquoted at least Nine several places of the Canon Law it self; insomuch, that there is not one word in any of them to the purpose your Lordship quotes 'em for. Nay, that you have misquoted the General Councils themselves, *Trent*, *Constance*, and the Great one of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third. Nay, that you have designedly, and strangely even mis-translated the Original Text of this Great *Lateran* Council, in the Third Canon of it; tho' the onely Text you rely'd on ultimately to bear the whole stress of your Charge and Book. Secondly, That you have mistook, and even grossly mistook the meaning of many more passages occurring; some in the Canon Law, and others in the Councils.

Fourthly, That for such misquotations, mis-translations, and mistakes, *I* refer the Reader back; First, not onely to my Twentyeth Section, where *I* answer all your quotations together out of the Canon Law; but to my Twenty Sixth, Twenty Seventh and Twenty Eighth, Sections; in which on other occasions *I* consider again several of the same Chapters of that Law. Secondly, To my Twenty Second, Twenty Third, Twenty Fourth, Twenty Sixth, Twenty Seventh, Twenty Ninth, and One and Thirtyeth, Sections, which in like manner very diffusely

Remark

remark on whatever you alledge out of Councils.

*Fifthly*, That so many Councils held both in *Germany* and *Italy*, and some within the Walls of *Rome*, against *Gregory the VII.* and so much Christian blood, like water, spilt for 300 years between the *Gibellins* and *Guelphs*; and such numberless numbers of Bishops, Priests, Clerks of all degrees, that so often, and so long, and even to death, lay under all the Excommunications, Curses, Interdicts, and other grievous persecutions of the Popes, rather than they would be disloyal to their Princes; and so many, both Scholastical Censures of all the Universities, and Publick Acts, and Declarations too of the Church, and Kingdom of *France*, against the Court of *Rome*, and Popes, in several occasions, at least ever since the Pontificate of *Boniface the VIII.* and so many other notorious instances to the same purpose in other parts of *Europe*; the Laws of *Provisors*, and *Premunire*, and Writs of *Ne exeat Regno*, in *England*; and the defiance continued against three Popes in a Succession by *Lewis of Bavier*, for XXXIII. years in *Germany*; and the *Interim* given, and the Confession of *Auspurg* allow'd, by *Charles the V.* himself; and the *Sicilian Monarchy* re-establish't by him; and his Council of *Castile*, and their *Petition of Ten Articles*; and his Prohibition afterwards of any correspondence with *Rome*, tho' lasting but two moneths onely (to say nothing of his Army, sacking *Rome*, and seizing the Pope, and keeping him Prisoner in the Castle of *St. Angelo* there even for Six months together) and the *Fus Belgarum* of the *Netherlands*; and the *Placitum Principis* in the Supreme Tribunal of *Brabant*; and the *Venetian Quarrel* with *Paul the V.* and the *Groans*, and *Bleatings*, and *Answers* of *Portugal*; and the *Bulla Cane* it self, ever since it's first affixion to *St. Peter's Gate* or Publication of it in *acie campi Floræ*, to this very day, rejected by all Catholick Countries save onely the small Temporal Territories of the Pope: and, in fine, the Pope himself, and his Court, and particular Church of *Rome*, nevertheless communicating still in all holy things, both in Life and Death, with them. That, I say, all these matters joyn'd together, as they should be, sufficiently prove the Church of *Rome*, has by much more than any one Publick Act or

*Declaration* (yea by much more then any one either of a Pope, or even of a General Council proceeding onely by a precise Majority of Votes) would amount unto, *disown'd such pernicious Principles, and Positions, and damn'd them as Erroneous, and (what they really are) impious.*

*Sixthly*, That, supposing those matters were not sufficient Convictions of it, and withall acknowledging, as I must do, your Lordship's prudential omission of the Fourth Disjunctive [*Or*] which you thought the onely [*Or*] might ensnare you, *viz.* This (or such another in Substante) *Or if any can shew that the passages alledg'd, do not fully prove the point intended, or do not evidently conclude that the Church of Rome, taken in the more famous, ordinary signification for the Universal Church of Rome, must own the said Popish Positions as hers:* Yet, after all your Lordship has even so manifestly ty'd your self by each of the two first *Or's*, (and either of them would be enough to do it) that seeing I have evidently shewn both your *misquotations* of many places cited by you, and *mistakes* of the meaning of several, nay & your *mis-translations* too of some; I may confidently charge you with your defying promise, & conditional obligation of your self to *be one of the worst sort of Christians in the World (you mean) a Roman Catholic.*

*Seventhly*, That albeit, I confess your Lordship may think you have stronger motives for breaking this promise, how publickly soever made in Print, than any can be for keeping it: and that withal I confess it was neither any part of my undertaking, nor is of my intention, to challenge your performance of so difficult a task, and wonderful change, but leave that to Providence, and the inward Convictions of your own Soul; Nay confess moreover, I know not whether, even at first, you really meant by the words of this promise what they signify to me, and not rather to induce others of easy Faith to believe those Popish Doctrines were truly, and justly charg'd by you on the Church of Rome, whatever in the mean time your self believ'd thereof: Yet methinks your Lordship ought, at least for your own sake, have forborn giving the Roman-Catholicks this vilest of Characters, *the worst sort of Christians in the World.* My Lord, you know the *Arians*, and *Nestorians*, the *Sabellians*, *Macedonians*, *Photinians*, and the Followers of *Socinus*

cinus the Italian, and our English Quakers too, are so many different sorts of *Christians in the World*. You know that so are the *Anabaptists, Familists, Antinomians, yea Libertines* (begun by *Quintin the Taylor of Picardy*) other sorts of *Christians in the World*. You know that both these, and those deny the Mysteries of the Trinity of Persons, and Incarnation of the Second of them, the Eternal Consubstantial Son of the Unbegotten Father: that is, deny at least, the very chief *Fundamentals* of Christian Religion, if either the Church of *Rome*, or Church of *England*, or that of the *Greek* Communion, or all three together, teach us right, or what those *Fundamentals* are. You know the four latter of them deny (some in one way, and some in another,) not onely those *Fundamentals*, but too too many also of the most necessary, most Essential superstructures built upon them; even many other manifest Mysteries, Articles, Precepts of the Religion of Christ. Yea that some of them deny all the holy Scriptures, the Law, Prophets, Gospel, all Divine Revelation, besides their own Enthusiastick dreams; Nay profess openly against all Vertue, Piety, Morality of Life in this world, all hopes, all fears of another after this.

\* You know the *Socinians* || themselves deny Eternal Death, and everlasting Fire to be other, than a meer annihilation of the

\* See *Ross's View of Religions*, Edit. 4. pag. 229. 234, 361, 365, 366. || *Idem*, pag. 367.

Soul. All this, and much more to the same purpose, your Lordship knows who is so knowing in Books. And, therefore, how could you, (my Lord) in the year 1678, and how in your own name too, speak, write, print, publish the *Roman-Catholicks*, to be the worst sort of Christians in the world? How could you these seven years past without continual remorse, how can you at present without tormenting stings, reflect on such a Close of your Book, such a peculiar Testimony of your own? What, my good Lord? A Church of *England* Bishop, nay the learned famous Doctor *Barlow* of the See of *Lincoln*, to see this in print under his name for so many years, and give it no kind of check, make no reparation to the injur'd People, signify no remorse at all? Does not your Lordship know the Church of *England's* most illustrious, most excellent,



cellent writers acknowledge, that how justly soever they are distant in other things from the Church of *Rome*, they cannot however deny the *Roman*, to hold firmly still to the Foundation of Faith, and to believe all the Fundamentals of Christian Religion, all the Mysteries of the Trinity of Persons in one increated substance, and the Incarnation of the Son, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost from both Father and Son, and all the Three Creeds, and all the Books of the Old, and New-Testament, and whatever the first Four General Councils defin'd as matter of Faith, or is deliver'd down as such by Universal Tradition, according to the Rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis*; and the Necessity of Grace, Repentance and Good Works; and the Supernatural helps of the Sacraments instituted by Christ; and whatsoever else the very Protestant Church of *England* her self requires necessarily (*necessitate medij*) or as a necessary means to salvation. My Lord, you perfectly know this which I aver of the most Eminent Church of *England* Writers, to be (without any contradiction) true. And yet, after all this, your own doom must be of *Roman-Catholicks*, that they are the worst sort of Christians in the World. What, my Reverend good Lord? A worser sort of Christians than even the *Arians*, or the *Nestorians*, or *Macedonians*, or *Eutychians*, or *Photinians* either, who continue still from the days of old? worser than the followers of *Socinus*, or the very *Quakers* of this our own Age? Nay, worser than *Anabaptists*, *Familiists*, *Antinomians*, nay the very *Liber-*

(b) *Idem* Ross above  
And *Spondan.* too ad an.  
1525. Num. XXV.

(b) themselves, who admit no restraint on their infinite errors, who neither believe Christ, nor Sin, nor the

Resurrection to be other than the weakly opinions of deceivable men? And your Lordship, a Bishop of the Church of *England*, a Successor to *Robert Grossthead*, of *Lincoln*, your very Lordship Doctor *Barlow*, by a plain consequence to say all this, and to say it of the greatest body of Christians that is in the World, and give no kind of reason for saying so! Or does your Lordship think peradventure, that your charging those Popish Positions or Principles on the Church of *Rome* can plead your excuse in this particular? My

My Lord, were that Charge of yours as evidently true, as *I* have prov'd it evidently False, unjust, ungrounded in any manner, this would no way evince the *Roman Catholicks* to be not onely not worle, but not even so bad as the very least evil of all those Eleven Enumerated abortive *sorts of Christians in the World*. For it is manifest, that, notwithstanding the foresaid Positions held, on some account, and in some sense, by the *particular Church of Rome*, or at least by many of the Popes, and many of their Courts, and some others elsewhere expecting favours from them; yet they all unalterably cleave to the Foundation still. They all believe, profess, adhere to the aforesaid both Fundamentals, and Superstructures too, that are necessary to Salvat on, as before.

Besides, my Lord, you know *I* can instance in some other *sorts of Christians* (yea *Protestant* Christians, and some of them too the very most inveterate, irreconcilable, deadly Enemies of the Church of *Rome*, as they are no friends neither of the Church of *England* establish't by Law) who maintain both Principles, and Practises even of the *Deposing Power*, as bloody, as dangerous, as pernicious (if not far more) to all, both *Protestant*, and *Catholick* Princes, as any of those *Popish* Positions aforesaid, have been, or can be in any season or Circumstance. And yet your Lordship is far enough from Charactering them so vilely, or censuring them so heavily, if you censure them at all. Therefore in the name of God, why the *Roman Catholicks*, on account of such *Popish* Positions, did they all hold them, as one in a thousand does not, and why in your opinion the *worst sort of Christians in the World*? As if you had never read of *Thomas Muntzer's* Anabaptistical, levelling, rebellious crew, the commons of *Suabia, Franconia, Thuringia, &c.* Rais'd by him in Arms against their Lawful Princes, (1525) carrying all before them like a Torrent of Fire; destroying all in their way like Furies; encouraging by their example the Boors of all other Provinces of the Empire to rise in Arms, as indeed they did; fighting not onely twice the *Land-grave of Hesse at Frankhusen*, but elsewhere *Truces*, General of the Confederate Lords in *Suabia*, and the *Palsgrave* of the *Rhine*, and the Duke

of *Lorrain* too in *Alsatia*: in fine, losing in these, and other Fights, a hundred, and fifty thousand of their own side; to say nothing of all those were killed by them of the other, from first to last of this one grand Rebellion of theirs.

Or, *Secondly*, As if you had never heard of the Botcher of *Leyden*, *John Buckhold* of the same Anabaptistical dipping Sect, who seiz'd the City of *Munster* in *Westphalia*: who in the year, 1534 on the Nativity of St. *John Baptist*, had himself in the market-place there, with all solemnity imaginable, crown'd King; yea, with this very Title, *The King of Justice, and the new Hierusalem on Earth*: who held out desperately against a powerful Siege of eleven months continuance; who kill'd in one sally four thousand Gentlemen, the very flower of the Besiegers; who bewitch't all his followers, plunder'd all the Churches, robb'd all the Citizens of their whole wealth in one day; made themselves deliver up to him in one place, even all their Jewels, gold, silver, plate, and Whatever else was rich or precious with them. In fine, who turn'd all that noble, opulent City into a Theatre of the most horrible, both Calamities, and impieties that ever the Sun did see. Nor ceased acting them on continually in defiance of heaven, till the vengeance of God, which pursu'd him close at the heels, alter'd at last the Scene, betraying him by one of his own Prophets, slaughtering all his Fanatical Troops before his own face; inflicting on himself the most dreadful death could be thought of; and executing both the one, and the other in that very market place where they so lately before did Crown him King.

Or, *Thirdly*, As if your Lordship could not call to mind the *Smalcaldian League* of the year 1525. enter'd into by all the great *Lutheran* Princes, and People themselves; the Duke of *Saxony*, the Land-grave of *Hesse*, the Duke of *Wittenberg*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, the Duke of *Lunenbourg*, the young Marquess of *Baden*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Counts of *Furstenberg*, and *Mansfield*, the Imperial Towns of *Ausburg*, *Ulm*, *Strasburg*, and *Frankfort*. Or as if your Lordship could be ignorant how the conditions of this League were, to defend their Liberties, and Religion, comprehended in the *Lutheran Confession*

*Confession of Auspurg*, even against all men. Or how the Emperour himself, Charles the V. their Supreme Lord on earth, was the man it was indeed made against. Or how it was by the Laws of the Empire manifest Treason in them to enter into any such League. Or how nevertheless, after vast preparations made in pursuance of it, during the next eighteen Months following, and as privately as they could to surprize the Emperour unawares and unprovided, they drew at last suddenly into the Field against him an Army of Seventy Thousand Foot, Fifteen Thousand Horse, with a Hundred and Twenty Peeces of Cannon, and abundance of all other necessities for so great a Force. Or how their Letter of Defiance sent him was only superscrib'd *To Charles of Gant, bearing himself as Emperour*. Or how, a little before, the *Landgrave* himself writ to others, that he doubted not to make *Charles* fly out of all *Germany* ere long. Tho' the Providence of God, and Fortune of *Cesar* gave him in a little time, and with very little loss (or scarce any) of his side, a compleat Victory over them all; even their two Generals themselves, *Saxony & Hesse* being one of them taken, the other forc'd to come in, and their very Lives at his Mercy.

Or, *Fourthly*, As if it were unknown to your Lordship, how the *Lutheran* States of *Swedeland* in the year 1597. meerly on account of that Religion, usurp'd the Government of their own Lawful, Anointed, Crown'd, Hereditary King, *Sigismund* the II. when he was but a little while absent in *Poland*, whereof he was also (tho' only by Election) King. How not long after, upon his return, they openly took Arms against him, fought him, worsted him, made him fly back to *Poland*. How in the year 1604. they depos'd him for ever, incapacitated his Issue after him to Reign, Crown'd his Uncle *Charles* Duke of *Suderman*, and entail'd the Crown of *Swedeland* on the Issue of that *Charles*. And all this for no other cause, at least no other pretence, than that King *Sigismund* was a declar'd Son of the *Roman-Catholick* Church, and thought inclining to restore it again among them.

Or, *Fifthly*, As if the more fatal, pernicious, manifold Leagues of the Followers of *Calvin*, against their Lawful Princes, were unknown to the World at this time of



day . Or as if your Lordship had remember'd nothing in History of the Civil Wars of *France*, and the *Hugonots* Rebellion there, so perfidiously and frequently renew'd by them against four Kings in a Succession, *Francis* the II. *Charles* the IX. *Henry* the III. and *Lewis* the XIII. at several times off and on, from the year 1560. to the year 1627. Nothing of their *German*, *Bohemian*, *Hun-*

\* This League was carri'd on privately from the year 1608. to the year 1619. when it came to execution against the Emperour *Ferdinand* the II. after the Leagues had in those eleven years of it's secrecy prepar'd a Fund of 4176917 *Florins* to carry on the War.

*garian*, and *Transilvanian* Brethren, engaging themselves in the year \* 1680. by a secret Union of one and twenty Articles, assented to by the *Palsgrave* of the *Rhine*, *Christian* Prince of *Anbalt*, the Marquess of *Onolzbach*, Count *Mansfield*, The Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, The Marquess of *Baden*, The Duke of *Wittenberg*, The Landgrave of *Hesse*, The Duke *du Poms*, & the Cities of *Stras-*

*burgh*, *Norimberg*, and others, to make war on their Supreme Lord, the Emperour, till they had reduc't him to their own Terms. Even *Bethleem Gabor* himself, who had Murder'd his own Predecessour and wholly depended on the *Turk*, being admitted into this League. Nothing of the perpetual Union and League of *Utrecht* in Twenty Articles, made by the States of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frise* and *Gelders*, in the Year 1578. tho' not Subscrib'd by the Prince of *Orange*, or those of *Antwerp* and *Gant*, till the 14th. of *February*, 1579. nor confirm'd at the *Hague* till the 20th. of *July*, 1581. The sum and scope of all, being to renounce their Liege Lord the King of *Spain*, *Phillip* the II. and to Depose him from his hereditary Dominion over them; as indeed they did. Nothing of the inhumane Tragedies Acted in *Scotland* by the instigation of *Knox*, *Goodman*, *Gilby*, *Buchanan* and others of their Zealous *Geneva* Disciplin. Tragedies began, Anno 1546. and continu'd afterwards till, even by open Rebellion successively against two Queens, they broke the Heart of one; and having depos'd the other, made her fly into *England* to save her life, tho' she lost it there by the Executioners Axe. Nothing neither of so many

many former Conspiracies against Queen *Mary* of *England*, nor even of Sir *Thomas Wyats* more publick dangerous Rebellion against her, when, with an Army of *Kentish* Men, he March't over *Shooters-Hill*; enter'd *Southwark*, past the River *Thames* at *Kingston*, advanc't from thence directly to *Charing-Cross* in *Westminster*, and so to *Ludgate* in *London*, without scarce any opposition at all. Nothing even of the most hideous *Catastrophe* of all in your own remem-

brance from the year 1641. to the 30th. of *January*, 1648. *S. V.* when *CHARLES* the Martyr's Anointed Head, was by the Sentence of a High Court of Justice, cut off on a Stage at his own Pallace door.||

|| See the Continuation of *Spondanus* in the several years of Christ, before quoted, and the Book call'd *Jerusalem & Babel*, (Written by *P. D. M.* Printed at *Turnay*, An. 1623.) Part.

1. *Ti. I. 2, 3, 4, 5*, and 6. where the Author has at large related, not only the Rebellions of both the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, but the Positions too of *Luther* and *Calvin* themselves, and all their chief Schollars and Rabbies, maintaining the Lawfulness of reforming the Church by such rebellious means against the Lawful Princes.

Or Finally, as if your Lordship did not very well know that Authentick History could inform us, how on account (at least pretence) of Religion, and in pursuance of the Positions of *Luther* and *Calvin* for a Deposing Power in the People, there had been more Princes actually and effectually depos'd by their own Protestant Subjects in threescore years only, than by *Roman Catholick* Subjects in six Hundred, on account, or in pursuance of any, either Positions, or Practices of the Popes themselves; or in obedience to any of their Excommunications, or other Sentences, or Commands whatsoever against Princes, or People, or both.

No, no, My Lord, Your Lordship cannot be presum'd ignorant of any thing hitherto related, either of the *Anabaptists*, or the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* themselves. And therefore I demand once more, why, on account of your Popish Positions being dangerous and pernicious to Princes, must the *Roman-Catholicks* (nay why such few of them as hold those Positions must) be, and be in your Judgment *The worst sort of Christians in the World?*

Why

Why on that account worse than *Anabaptists*, or *Calvinists*, or even *Lutherans* either? Or, do not all these three sorts of Christians, however in other things mightily disagreeing, agree nevertheless in asserting both the Positions and Practices of a Power in the many-headed *Hydra*, the Populace, to depose their Princes? Or is not such a Power lodg'd in the Populace, or are not the Positions or Practices of it, as dangerous and pernicious to all, both *Roman-Catholick* and Protestant Princes, as any (if not more than any) of those very *Popish* Positions can be? And, if this be so as manifestly it is, how can the *Roman-Catholicks* on that account be *The worst sort of Christians in the World*? Here are Three other sorts (and two of them the most diffus'd, Specious, Famous of all the Reformation in other Countries) as bad on that account as any the very most furious 'bigotted Papists can be. But if your Lordship could pretend any other account, or had any other reason for that vilest of Characters given of all *Roman-Catholicks*, why have you not alledg'd it? Why not so much as a hint of it neither among the Articles of your Charge, nor any where else in your whole Book? Or did you perhaps think fit to give that People this parting-blow without any reason at all? But, whether so or no, I conclude here all my Reflections, both on your Character and Book.

The few Points that follow are of another nature. They are Issues only of that true respect I bear your Lordships Dignity and Person still, & shall bear you alwayes in such manner as becomes me best. They proceed not so much from an Answerer as a Petitioner to your Lordship, & this even for your own very sake; *viz.* That after perusing all I have said hitherto, you may be pleas'd to consider

1. That seeing those Causes which were so unhappily able in 78. to alter your former Judgment and Moderation, as they did alter many others too, are now quite vanish't: your Lordship can plead no longer those affrighting Spectres for suffering your Reason to be either clouded or byast hereafter on your pretended Grounds against the innocent Generality of the *Roman-Catholick Church*.

2. That if I have evinc't my purpose in this Tract, that is, if I have answer'd your whole Book, disprov'd your whole Charge, refuted all your Reasons, Consequences,

quences, and what ever else does follow them against the *Roman-Catholick Church*: Nothing is more certainly true, than that unless your Lordship resolve to make that injur'd People, at least such of them as are in these Dominions, all the reparation you can, by retracting even as publickly in Print that most injurious Book, as you have Publish't it in Print, there can be no attonement for you with God. I am sure there is no Maxim of Conscience more universally admitted by all Christian Schools and Churches, than this of

St. *Augustine* \* (Ep. 54. ad Macedonium) *Non dimititur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum*;

That the Sin of Injustice against man is not forgiven by God, till Restitution be made to Man of that which is taken, or detain'd from him, if it be in the detainers power to restore it. And the reason is manifest, because till that be

done, there is an actual Continuation of the Injury still by the Authour of it. which being so, even where the injur'd party is but one private Man or Woman, how much more must it be so, where as many Thousands, nay Myriads as there are *Roman-Catholicks*, (at least those in His Majesties Dominions) are injur'd, nay injur'd in the highest nature that can be? Nay, as much as in your Representation of them lyes, expos'd not only to the utmost hatred, horror, detestation of all their Protestant Neighbours; but intire destruction too in their Estates, Liberties, Lives; that is, in all that can be dear to any in this World? And therefore, My Lord, if on a serious account with your own Interiour Man, you find this Answer of mine has convinc't you of Injustice to that People, to the *Roman-Catholick Church* it self, in all the material parts of your Book; you see how much you are concern'd even for your own Soul in the Case. You see that 'tis a Case resolv'd, that without such reparation made here on earth (*in re, vel in voto*) as I have said before, no repentance, no tears, no purposes, no Power of the Keyes, nor Blood of the Lamb it self will attone for

\* *Si res aliena, propter quam peccatum est, cum reddi possit non redditur, non agitur penitentia sed fingitur. Si autem veraciter agitur, non remittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum. August. Ep. 54. ad Maced. & habetur 14. q. 6. cap. si.*



for you in Heaven. Nor will the Politicks of *Xenophon* or *Plato*, nor will any pretence of a Publick End or Pious Intention for the Protestant Church or State of *England*, (be your Zeal for the one, or the other, or both, as great as you please) no, nor will any other Positions or Practises of Papists that are truly theirs, how wicked soever you repute them, not even those very Practises which you perhaps esteem down-right Idolatry, plead your excuse to the Righteous Judge. My Lord, no Man knows better than your Lordship, that for any Christian to say *Evil may be done, that good may come of it*, Rom. 3. 8. is down right Blaspheming Christianity it self. That a false Accusation, if known to the Accuser to be false, is Evil; and by so much the greater by how much the matter of it is more heinous. That even known, even confest Malefactors themselves cannot without horrible sin be wittingly accused of Crimes they are not Guilty of. Nay, that even the most undoubted *Idolaters* in the World, even the very Adorers of the Devil for God, cannot without enormous sin be destroy'd by Lies, or impeach'd of Crimes which the *Impeacher* knows in his own Soul they are innocent of. Finally, That such is the Doctrine of all Churches, all Schools, all Men who believe the Scriptures, or who, but only by natural Reason are perswaded, that all willful Lies are intrinsically Evil, and those which are call'd [*Mendacia perniciofa*] *Pernicious Lies*, as being grievously harmful to other Persons, are even deadly sins against the Laws of God and Nature. All which being so well known to your Lordship, you must also know and see the sequel of them, *viz.* That no such Politicks, no such Pretences, or Intentions, nor any other, true or false enormities of the Papists, can without reparation made 'em by you to your Power in this World, attone for you to the Righteous Judge in the other.

3. That, on the other side, if your Lordship, after serious perusal of this Answer, shall think it has not sufficiently evinc't my purpose, or that I have faild in answering to the full any material point of your Book, or in proving clearly whatever I undertook against it, especially my Two Positions oppos'd to your One: and that your Lordship, or any other for you, shall by

a just Reply convince me thereof: Tho' I dare not be so vainly confident of my own performance as to venture upon it, my deserting the *Roman-Catholick Church*, or my going over to the Church of *England*, (no notwithstanding the great respect I have for the Church of *England* establish'd by Law, and very much greater by many degrees, than for any other Church of the whole Reformation) yet I dare, and do promise what lies in my power, and I think my self oblig'd to perform, *viz.* That I will ingenuously, for so much as I am convinc'd of acknowledg my Errour; and beg your Lordships pardon even under my own hand. As for my sincerity not only in this promise here, but in all other matters whatsoever, and wheresoever in this whole Answer, alledg'd or given by me before, whether Quotations of Authours, or Objections, or Solutions, or Assertions, or Inferences of Reason; (God be thanked) I can give the Reader this assurance of it, that altho' I may be my self deceiv'd, I can however say, as the Antient *Romans* did use to say in making their Leagues, *Ita me Jupiter, si sciens fallo.* \* May God do so, and so by me, if \* *Livius.*  
wittingly or knowingly I deceive others.

4. In the last place, My Lord, seeing your Sacred Function and eminent Order in the Church has made you an Embassadour from Christ to all People, a Successour to the Apostles in their Embassy to all Nations, an Angel of Peace to bring Peace to all Men: I beseech you consider how much better it would become you to speak all things tending to the Peace of *Hierusalem*, to the reconciling of the Churches, composing their Differences, allaying their animosities, applying some little balm of *Gilead* to heal their Wounds, rather than speak or write any thing to make their Sores angry and fester, and as much as lies in you, Incurable for ever. How infinitely much more ought you to prefer being deservedly called, one of the *Blessed Sons of God*, as all true *Peace-makers* shall be; than a Son of Discord, a Fomenter of Hatred, Enmity, rancour between the Churches, an Encourager to the Destruction of so many thousand poor Innocent Souls believing in Christ? O my good Lord, you know it was not in the Tempestu-

ous Whirlwind, nor dreadful Earthquake, nor in the following Fire that God would

\* *Sibilus auræ tenuis.* come to *Elias* on *Horeb*, \* but  
3. *Reg.* 19. 12. in the gentle whistling of a soft  
breath of ayre. You know that

neither when he took our Flesh upon him, did he reveal himself to Mortals in any other Language, than that of Meekness, Mercy, Kindness, Love. Nor did He, nor did his Apostles after Him, by other means convert the

World, than By *Evangelizing*  
\* *Ephes.* 2. 17. *Peace to them that were far off,*  
*and them that were nigh; and*

*breaking down the middle wall of Partition, and making One of Two.* Ah, My Lord! There is none knows better all these things and the meaning of them in this place, than your self; altho' of late Years you would needs enlist your self among those the Holy Ghost pronounces of, *The wayes of Peace they have not known,* *Rom.* 3. 17. But after all, *The Hand of our Lord is not shorten'd, that he cannot save.* *Esay.* 59. 1. And He that so wonderfully turn'd *Saul* to *Paul* can work as great a change in you; and even make you on the very account, and by the special Title of a *Peace-maker*, one of his own *Blessed Sons*. And may it be so, My Lord! and may it effectually be so done, and so wrought in you, by that All-powerful Arm of Grace! May you, instead of a great Divider, prove as great a Reconciler of the Churches, Repairer of their Breaches, Extinguisher of all the long unhappy Feuds betwixt 'em! And whatever you, or any of your way hitherto, resolve hereafter as to this matter on your side, may we all of both sides, My Lord, meet there at last, where there shall be no more Divisions, no more Complaints, no Tears, no Sighs, no Grief! which are the Wishes and ever shall be the Prayers of,

My Lord,

Your Lordships

London, January,  
the 30th. 1684.

S. N.

Most Obsequious Servant  
in Christ,

Peter Walth.

